# THE IMPERIAL CULT IN THE LATIN WEST
## VOLUME III - PART 3

# RELIGIONS IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD

EDITORS

H.S. VERSNEL
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VOLUME 147

# THE IMPERIAL CULT IN THE LATIN WEST

## *Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire*

## Volume III: Provincial Cult

## *Part 3: The Provincial Centre; Provincial Cult*

BY

DUNCAN FISHWICK

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# CONTENTS

Abbreviations ........ ix
Plates ........ xiii

The Provincial Centre ........ 1

1. Tarraco ........ 5
   - i. *The Provincial Precinct* ........ 5
      - a. Sources ........ 5
      - b. The sanctuary ........ 11
      - c. Location of the temple ........ 18
      - d. Chronology of the temple ........ 22
   - ii. *The Provincial Plaza and the Circus* ........ 31
   - iii. *The Amphitheatre and the Theatre* ........ 38

2. Emerita ........ 41
   - i. *The Provincial Temple* ........ 41
   - ii. *The Provincial Centre* ........ 44
   - iii. *The Municipal Forum and the Marble* forum adiectum ........ 59
   - iv. *The Amphitheatre, Theatre and Circus* ........ 65

3. Corduba ........ 71
   - i. *The North Forum* ........ 73
   - ii. *The New Forum* ........ 79
   - iii. *The South Forum* ........ 83
   - iv. *The Temple in Calle Claudio Marcelo* ........ 90
   - v. *The Provincial Centre* ........ 98
   - vi. *The Theatre, Amphitheatre and Circus* ........ 101

4. Lugdunum ........ 105
   - i. *The Site* ........ 106
   - ii. *The Altar* ........ 107
   - iii. *The Amphitheatre* ........ 120

iv. *The Temple* ..... 123
v. *Other Monuments* ..... 124

5. Narbo Martius ..... 129
i. *The Amphitheatre* ..... 129
ii. *The Provincial Centre* ..... 131

6. Camulodunum ..... 135
i. *The Site* ..... 137
ii. *The Temple Precinct* ..... 138
iii. *The Lower Forum* ..... 146

7. Gorsium ..... 149
i. *A Provincial Centre?* ..... 149
ii. *The Epigraphic Record* ..... 152
iii. *The Di Magni: "Oriental Deities"* ..... 157
iv. *Plan and Location* ..... 161
v. *A Provincial Temple?* ..... 163
vi. *A Sanctuary for Oriental Deities* ..... 169

8. Sarmizegetusa ..... 173

9. Carthage ..... 179

10. Other Provincial Sites ..... 183

11. The Provincial Centre ..... 185
i. *A Permanent Headquarters* ..... 185
a. Tarraco ..... 186
b. Emerita ..... 189
c. Corduba ..... 194
d. Other centres ..... 198
ii. *Location and Design* ..... 201
a. Location ..... 201
b. Design ..... 204
iii. *Purpose and Function* ..... 211
a. Cult ..... 211
b. Administration ..... 214
c. Recreation ..... 216
d. Ideology ..... 218

Provincial Cult ........ 221

12. Regalia ........ 223

13. Calendar ........ 229

14. Rites ........ 235
  i. *Cult Places* ........ 235
  ii. *Sacrifices* ........ 247
  iii. Taurobolia ........ 258
  iv. *Processions* ........ 268
  v. Statuae imaginesve ........ 273
  vi. *Other Rites* ........ 283
  vii. *Participation* ........ 285

15. Dedications ........ 289
  i. *Direct Dedications* ........ 289
    a. Imperial dedications ........ 289
    b. Other Divinities ........ 290
  ii. *Co-ordinate Dedications* ........ 294
  iii. *Private Dedications* ........ 299

16. Games ........ 305
  i. munera ........ 307
    a. Gladiatorial combats and hunts ........ 307
    b. martyrdoms ........ 327
  ii. ludi circenses ........ 337
  iii. ludi scaenici ........ 342

17. Provincial Cult ........ 351
  i. pro salute Imperatoris ........ 352
  ii. *Cult, Anniversaries and Ritual* ........ 361
    a. Cult ........ 361
    b. Anniversaries ........ 366
    c. Ritual ........ 368

References ........ 371

For Bibliography and Indices see Vol. III, 4.

# ABBREVIATIONS

In addition to the abbreviations listed below, earlier volumes in the present work are cited as Vol. I, 1; Vol. I, 2; Vol. II, 1; Vol. III, 1; Vol. III, 2.

| | |
|---|---|
| *AE* | *L'Année épigraphique. Revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité romaine*, Paris, 1888– . |
| *AFA* | Scheid J. (ed.) with Tassini P., Rüpke J., *Recherches archéologiques à La Magliana. Commentarii fratrum arvalium quae supersunt. Les copies épigraphiques des protocoles annuels de la confrérie arvale (21 av. – 304 ap. J.-C.)*, Rome, 1998. |
| *AIJ* | Hoffiller V., Saria B. (eds.), *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslavien. Heft 1*: *Noricum und Pannonia Superior*, Amsterdam, 1970. |
| *BMCRE* | Mattingly H., Carson R. A. G. (eds.), *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, London, 1923–62, 1–6. |
| *CIL* | T. Mommsen *et al.* (eds.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum editum consilio et auctoritate Academiae Regiae Borussicae*, Berlin, 1863 – . |
| *CIL* $2^2$/7 | Stylow A. U *et al.* (eds.), *Conventus Cordubensis*, Berlin, 1995. |
| *ERAE* | García Iglesias L. (ed.), *Epigrafía romana de Augusta Emerita* (Diss. Madrid, Univ. Complutense), Madrid, 1972/73. |
| *HCC* | Robertson A. S. (ed.), *Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet*, Oxford, 1962. |
| *IDR* | Russu I. I. (ed.), *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, Bucharest, 1980, 3, 2. |
| *ILAndal* 2, 2 | González Fernández J. (ed.), *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía: La Vega (Itálica)*, Seville, 1991. |
| *ILA, Santons* | Maurin L., Thauré M., Tassaux F. (eds.), *Inscriptions latines d'Aquitaine (I.L.A.)*, Bordeaux, 1994. |
| *ILA, Pétrucores* | Bost J.-P., Fabre G. (eds.), *Inscriptions latines d'Aquitaine (ILA)*, Bordeaux, 2001. |

| | |
|---|---|
| *ILER* | Vives J. (ed.), *Inscripciones latinas de la España romana*, Barcelona, 1971–72, 1–2. |
| *ILIug* | Sasel A. and J. (eds.), *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt*, Ljubljana, 1963. |
| *ILPGr* | Pastor M., Mendoza A. (eds.), *Inscripciones latinas de la provincia de Granada*, Granada, 1987. |
| *ILS* | Dessau H. (ed.), *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, 1892–1916. |
| *ILTG* | Wuilleumier P. (ed.), *Inscriptions latines des Trois Gaules* (Gallia suppl. 14), Paris, 1963. |
| *InscrIt* 13, 2 | Degrassi A. (ed.), *Fasti anni Numani et Iuliani*, Rome, 1963, Vols. 1–2. |
| *IScM* | Pippidi D. M. *et al.*, *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris graecae et latinae*, Bucharest, 1980– , 2: 1, 2, 3, 5. |
| *LIMC* | Ackermann H. C., Gisler J.-R. (eds.) *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, Zürich-Munich, 1981– . |
| *OLD* | Glare P. G. W., *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1968–82. |
| *PECS* | Stillwell R. (ed.), *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, Princeton, 1976. |
| *RE* | Wissowa G., Kroll E., *et al.* (eds.), *Paulys Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Berlin, 1893– . |
| *RGRW* | Drijvers H., van den Broek R., Versnel H. S. (eds.), *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*, Leiden, 1992 – . |
| *RIC* | Mattingly H., Sydenham E. A., Sutherland C. H. V., Carson R. A. G. (eds.), *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, London, 1923–84. |
| *RIS* | Walser G., *Römische Inschriften in der Schweiz, für den Schulunterricht ausgewählt, photographiert und erklärt*, Bern, 1979–1980. |
| *RIT* | Alföldy G. (ed.), *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco*, Berlin, 1975. |
| *RIU* | Barkóczi L., Mócsy A. *et al.* (eds.), *Die Römischen Inschriften Ungarns*, Budapest, 1972–1991. |
| *Roscher* | Roscher W. H. (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1884–1937, 1–10. |
| *RPC* | Burnett A., Amandry M., Pau Ripollès P. (eds.), *Roman Provincial Coinage*, London and Paris, 1992, Vol. 1, Parts 1–2. |

| | |
|---|---|
| *RSS* | Balla L., Buocz T. P., Kádár Z., Mócsy A., Szentléleky T. (eds.), *Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Savaria*, Amsterdam-Budapest, 1971. |
| *ThLL* | *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, Leipzig, 1900– . |

# PLATES

72. Plan of provincial precinct of Tarraco according to B. Hernández. Reproduced from TED'A, *Un Abocador del Segle V D.C. en el Fòrum provincial de Tàrraco* (Memòries d'Excavació 2), Tarragona, 1989, 35, fig. 7.

73. Plan of "Ciutat Monumental" of Tarraco according to C. Oliva. Reproduced from TED'A, *Un Abocador del Segle V D.C. en el Fòrum provincial de Tàrraco* (Memòries d'Excavació 2), Tarragona, 1989, 39, fig. 9.

74. Plan of Republican walled enclosure and Flavian architectural complex in upper city of Tarraco. Reproduced from X. Dupré i Raventos, "New Evidence for the Study of the Urbanism of Tarraco", *PBA* 86 (1995) 362, fig. 5.

75. Model of provincial forum of Tarraco. Reproduced from X. Aquilué i Abadias, X. Dupré i Raventós, J. Massó, J. Ruiz de Arbulo, *Tàrraco. Guies del Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya*, Tarragona, 1999, 78.

76. "Temple of Diana" at Mérida badly restored. Photograph by courtesy of Dr. J. M. Alvarez Martinez, Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida.

77. Plan of "Temple of Diana" at Mérida. Photograph by courtesy of Dr. J. L. de la Barrera, Museo Nacional de Arte Romana, Mérida.

78. *AE* (1957) 251 (Emerita). Photograph by courtesy of Dr. J. M. Alvarez Martinez, Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida.

79a–b. Monument of Santa Eulalia, Mérida. Photographs by courtesy of Dr. J. M. Alvarez Martinez, Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida.

80. Plan of octostyle structure, Mérida. Reproduced from A. L. J. de Laborde, *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne*, Paris, 1813, 1, 2, 110, Lám. CXLV. Photograph by courtesy of Dr. J. M. Alvarez Martinez, Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida.

81. *CIL* 2, 465 (Emerita). Photograph by courtesy of Dr. J. M. Alvarez Martinez, Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida.

82. Vestiges of monumental temple in Calle Holguín, Mérida. Photograph by courtesy of Dr. J. M. Alvarez Martinez, Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida.

83. Plan showing stairway leading from "Arco de Trajano", Mérida. Reproduced by courtesy of Dr. J. L. de la Barrera, Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida.

84. Photographs (a–b–c) of interior of "Arco de Trajano" and vestige of stairway leading to provincial temple, Mérida. Reproduced by courtesy of Dr. J. L. de la Barrera, Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida.

85. "Arco de Trajano" at Mérida. Photograph by courtesy of Dr. J. M. Alvarez Martinez, Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida.

86. *Clipei* in Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida. Photograph by courtesy of Dr. J. M. Alvarez Martinez, Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida.

87. Caryatids (a, b) now in Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida. Photograph by courtesy of Dr. J. M. Alvarez Martinez, Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida.

88. Plan of centre of Mérida. Reproduced from W. Trillmich, "Gestalt und Ausstattung des 'Marmorforums' in Mérida. Kenntnisstand und Perspektiven," *MDAI(M)* 36 (1995) 269–91 at 270, Abb. 1.

89. Sketch of theatre, amphitheatre and circus of Emerita according to J. C. Golvin, J. M. Alvarez, T. Nogales Basarrate. Reproduced from T. Nogales Basarrate, *Espectáculos en* Augusta Emerita (Monografías Emeritenses 5), Badajoz, 2000, 118, Lám. II A.

90. Aerial view of theatre and amphitheatre of Mérida. Reproduced from T. Nogales Basarrate, *Espectáculos en* Augusta Emerita (Monografías Emeritenses 5), Badajoz, 2000, 118, Lám. II B.

91. Aerial view of amphitheatre at Mérida. Reproduced from T. Nogales Basarrate, *Espectáculos en* Augusta Emerita (Monografías Emeritenses 5), Badajoz, 2000, 126, Lám. X.

92. Sketch of *sacrarium* in *ima cavea* of theatre at Mérida according to W. Trillmich. Reproduced from T. Nogales Basarrate, *Espectáculos en* Augusta Emerita (Monografías Emeritenses 5), Badajoz, 2000, 124, Lám. VIII B.

93. Plan of Corduba. Reproduced by kind permission from Fototeca/Cartoteca del Seminario de Arqueología, Universidad de Córdoba.

94. Plan of Corduba. Reproduced from A. U. Stylow, "Apuntes sobre el urbanismo de la Corduba romana" in W. Trillmich and P. Zanker, *Stadtbild und Ideologie* (Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Klasse Abh. n. F. 103), Munich, 1990, 264, Abb. 75.

95. Seated masculine torso, possibly of deified emperor represented as Jupiter enthroned, Córdoba. Reproduced from D. Vaquerizo (ed.), *Córdoba en Tiempos de Seneca* (Catálogo de la Exposición conmemorativa del MM Aniversario del nacimiento de Lucio Anneo Seneca, Córdoba, Palacio de la Merced, 7 de Noviembre–7 de Diciembre, 1996), Cordoba, 1996, 59.

96. Seated feminine torso, possibly of Livia assimilated to Ceres or Juno, Córdoba. Reproduced from D. Vaquerizo (ed.), *Córdoba en Tiempos de Seneca* (Catálogo de la Exposición conmemorativa del MM Aniversario del nacimiento de Lucio Anneo Seneca, Córdoba, Palacio de la Merced, 7 de Noviembre–7 de Diciembre, 1996), Cordoba, 1996, 63.

97. Fragmentary colossal statue, Córdoba. Photograph by kind permission from Fototeca/Cartoteca del Seminario de Arqueología, Universidad de Córdoba.

98. Portraits of Tiberius, Livia (a, b) and perhaps Claudius (c) found at Córdoba. Reproduced by kind permission from Fototeca/Cartoteca del Seminario de Arqueología, Universidad de Córdoba.

99. Portrait of Caligula(?), Córdoba. Reproduced from D. Vaquerizo (ed.), *Córdoba en Tiempos de Seneca* (Catálogo de la Exposición conmemorativa del MM Aniversario del nacimiento de Lucio Anneo Seneca, Córdoba, Palacio de la Merced, 7 de Noviembre–7 de Diciembre, 1996), Córdoba, 1996, 55.

100. Fragment of capital from no. 19. Calle Angel de Saavedra, Córdoba. Reproduced by kind permission from Fototeca/Cartoteca del Seminario de Arqueología, Universidad de Córdoba.

101. Roman temple in Calle Claudio Marcelo, Córdoba. Photograph by courtesy of Professor Dr. J. L. Jiménez Salvador, Departament de Prehistòria i d'Arqueología, Universidad de València.

102. Temple and plaza at intersection of Calles Claudio Marcelo and Capitulares, Córdoba. Plan by courtesy of Professor Dr. J. L. Jiménez Salvador, Departament de Prehistòria i d'Arqueología, Universidad de València.

103. Model of temple in Calle Claudio Marcelo, Córdoba. Reproduced from D. Vaquerizo (ed.), *Córdoba en Tiempos de Seneca* (Catálogo de la Exposición conmemorativa del MM Aniversario del nacimiento de Lucio Anneo Seneca, Córdoba, Palacio de la Merced, 7 de Noviembre–7 de Diciembre, 1996), Córdoba, 1996, 69.

104. Corinthian capital from temple in Calle Claudio Marcello at Córdoba. Photograph by courtesy of Professor Dr. J. L. Jiménez Salvador, Departament de Prehistòria i d'Arqueología, Universidad de València.

105. Actual location of theatre, hypothetical location of amphitheatre of Colonia Patricia. Reproduced from D. Vaquerizo (ed.), *Córdoba en Tiempos de Seneca* (Catálogo de la Exposición conmemorativa del MM Aniversario del nacimiento de Lucio Anneo Seneca, Córdoba, Palacio de la Merced, 7 de Noviembre–7 de Diciembre, 1996), Córdoba, 1996, 89.

106. Sanctuary of the Three Gauls. Plan reproduced from A. Audin and P. Quoniam, "Victoires et colonnes de l'autel fédéral des Trois Gaules: Données nouvelles", *Gallia* 20 (1962) 104, fig. 1.

107. Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste. Reproduced from A. M. Reggiani Massarini, *Museo Archeologico Prenestino*, Rome, 1993, 7.

108. Ramp leading to level of the hemicycles, Praeneste. Reproduced from P. Tomassi *et al.*, *Palestrina. Guida Storico-Turistica*, Palestrina, 1994, 35.

109. *As* of Nero, A.D. 64–6, showing Ara Pacis. Photograph from H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, London, 1965, 1, Pl. 47, 2.

110. *As* struck under Tiberius, A.D. 14–37, showing Ara Providentiae. Photograph from A. S. Robertson, *Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet*, Oxford, 1962, 1, Pl. 10, 5.

111. *As* of Vespasian, A.D. 77–8, showing Ara Providentiae. Photograph from A. S. Robertson, *Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet*, Oxford, 1962, 1, Pl. 38, 184.

112. *As* of Vitellius, A.D. 69, showing Ara Providentiae. Photograph from H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, London, 1965, 1, Pl. 64, 7.

113. Altar of Zeus at Bithynia; coin of Trajan, A.D. 98–117. Photograph from M. J. Price and B. L. Trell, *Coins and their Cities*, London, 1977, 104, fig. 188.

114. Altar court at Aperlae, Lycia; coin of Gordian III, A.D. 238–44. Photograph from M. J. Price and B. L. Trell, *Coins and their Cities*, London, 1977, 22, fig. 18.

115. Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Byblos, Phoenicia; coin of Macrinus, A.D. 217–18. Photograph from M. J. Price and B. L. Trell, *Coins and their Cities*, London, 1977, 150, fig. 271.

116. Bronze coin of Caesarea, Cappadocia; coin of Septimius Severus, A.D. 193–211, showing *agalma* of Mount Argaeus placed on altar. Photograph from W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria*, Bologna, 1964, xxxviiiff., 75, no. 235, Pl. XI, 13.

117. Cult stone above altar at Temple of Elagabalus, Emesa; coin of Caracalla, A.D. 216. Photograph from M. J. Price and B. L. Trell, *Coins and their Cities*, London, 1977, 168, fig. 297.

118. Bust above altar in temple at Sagalassus, Pisidia; coin of Volusian, A.D. 253–8. Photograph from M. J. Price and B. L. Trell, *Coins and their Cities*, London, 1977, 202, fig. 394.

119. Altar of Zeus at Pergamum; coin of Septimius Severus, A.D. 193–211. Photograph from M. J. Price and B. L. Trell, *Coins and their Cities*, London, 1977, 124, fig. 217.

120. Double shrine with two altars at Sagalassus, Pisidia; coin of Valerian, A.D. 253–8. Photograph from M. J. Price and B. L. Trell, *Coins and their Cities*, London, 1977, 144, fig. 256.

121. Altar from Haterii sarcophagus, late 1st century A.D., Rome. Photograph from M. J. Price and B. L. Trell, *Coins and their Cities*, London, 1977, 125, fig. 219.

122. Plan of temple precinct, Colchester. Reproduced from P. J. Drury, "The Temple of Claudius at Colchester reconsidered", *Britannia* 15 (1984) 23, fig. 11.

123. Reconstruction of superstructure and vaults of "Temple of Claudius", Camulodunum. Reproduced from P. Crummy, "The Temples of Roman Colchester" in W. Rodwell (ed.), *Temples, Churches and Religion: Recent Research in Roman Britain* (BAR 77, i) Oxford, 1980, 250, fig. 11, 5B.

124. Plan of altar base and associated Roman features south of Colchester Castle keep. Reproduced from P. J. Drury, "The Temple of Claudius at Colchester reconsidered", *Britannia* 15 (1984) 10, fig. 2.

125. *AE* (1972) 432 (Gorsium). Photograph by courtesy of Professor G. Alföldy, Seminar für Alte Geschichte, Heidelberg.

126. Plan of presumed federal zone of Tres Daciae, Sarmizegetusa. Reproduced from R. Étienne, I. Piso and A. Diaconescu, "Les propylées du forum civil de Sarmizegetusa (Roumanie)", *CRAI* (1990) 95, fig. 2.

127. Plan of Carthage. Reproduced from S. Raven, *Rome in Africa*$^3$, London and New York, 1993, 232.

128a-c. Panels from south frieze of Ara Pacis showing *flamines* wearing *apex*. Reproduced from D. A. Conlin, *The Artists of the Ara Pacis. The Process of Hellenization in Roman Relief Sculpture*, Chapel Hill and London, 1997.

129. *AE* (1995) 1793 (Caesarea). Photo by courtesy of S. Agusta-Boularot, Université de Provence.

130. *Cistophoros* of A.D. 41/2 from Pergamum, private collection. Reproduced from H. Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti. Eine Studie zu den Tempeln des ersten römischen Kaisers* (Archaelogica 39), Rome, 1985, Tafel 32d.

131. *Aes* of Trajan from Pergamum, W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Mysia*, London, 1900 [1964], 142, no. 263; pl. 28, 10. Reproduced from H. Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti. Eine Studie zu den Tempeln des ersten römischen Kaisers* (Archaelogica 39), Rome, 1985, Tafel 32e.

132. *Aes* of A.D. 4/5 from Pergamum, private collection. Reproduced from H. Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti. Eine Studie zu den Tempeln des ersten römischen Kaisers* (Archaelogica 39), Rome, 1985, Tafel 32c.

133. *Aes* of Hadrian from Nicomedia, W. Wroth, *Catalogue of Greek Coins. Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia and the Kingdom of Bosporus*, London, 1900 [1964], 105, no. 9; pl. 24, 6. Reproduced from H. Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti. Eine Studie zu den Tempeln des ersten römischen Kaisers* (Archaelogica 39), Rome, 1985, Tafel 31c.

134. Hadrianic *cistophoros* from Nicomedia, *BMCRE* 3, 396, no. 1096; pl. 75, 8. Reproduced from H. Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti. Eine Studie zu den Tempeln des ersten römischen Kaisers* (Archaelogica 39), Rome, 1985, Tafel 31e.

135. *Aes* of Hadrian from Nicomedia, W. Wroth, *Catalogue of Greek Coins. Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia and the Kingdom of Bosporus*, London, 1900 [1964], 108, no. 32; pl. 24, 11. Reproduced from H. Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti. Eine Studie zu den Tempeln des ersten römischen Kaisers* (Archaelogica 39), Rome, 1985, Tafel 31d.

136. *Aes* of Septimius Severus, Selinus-Trajanopolis. Reproduced from G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia*, London, 1900 [1964] 143, no. 2; pl. 24, 9.

137. Cult Statue of Roma at Ostia. Reproduced from H. Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti. Eine Studie zu den Tempeln des ersten römischen Kaisers* (Archaelogica 39), Rome, 1985, Tafel 8a-c.

138. *Dupondius* of Tiberius at Tarraco. Reproduced from A. Burnett, M. Amandry, P. Pau Ripollès (eds.), *Roman Provincial Coinage*, London and Paris, 1992, Vol. 1, Part 1, 104, no. 222; Part 2, pl. 16, no. 222.

139. *Dupondius* of Tiberius at Tarraco. Reproduced from A. Burnett, M. Amandry, P. Pau Ripollès (eds.), *Roman Provincial Coinage*, London and Paris, 1992, Vol. 1, Part 1, 104. no. 224; Part 2, pl. 16, no. 224.

140. *Sestertius* of A.D. 22–3. Reproduced from R. A. G. Carson, *Principal Coins of the Romans, Vol. II, The Principate 31 B.C.-A.D. 296*, London, 1980, 14, n. 363.

141. *Sestertius* of A.D. 22–3. Reproduced from R. A. G. Carson, *Principal Coins of the Romans, Vol. II, The Principate 31 B.C.-A.D. 296*, London, 1980, 14, n. 364.

142. Plan of Metroon at Olympia, showing position of figures flanking central cult statue of Augustus as Zeus. Reproduced from E. Curtius and F. Adler, *Olympia. Die Ergebnisse der von dem Deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung* 3, Berlin, 1897 [Amsterdam, 1966], 255.

143a, b. *Urceus* and *patera* from sides of monument of C. Aemilius Niger Annius Arvacus, priest of Baetica. Reproduced from *ILPGr* 8 (Almuñécar).

144. Hooked knife on tauroblic altar at Lyon. Reproduced from R. Turcan, *Les religions de l'Asie dans la vallée du Rhône* (EPRO 30), Leiden, 1972, Pl. XXV, 2.

145. Taurobolic altar at Vesunna. Reproduced from *ILA, Pétrucores* 9.

146. Hypothetical plan of colonial forum and civic theatre at Tarraco, late first century A.D. Reproduced from J. M. Macias Solé, "L'Urbanisme de Tarraco a partir de les excavacions de l'entorn del fòrum de la ciutat" in J. Ruiz de Arbulo (ed.), *Tàrraco 99. Arqueologia d'una capital provincial romana* (Documents d'arqueologia clàssica 3), Tarragona, 2000, 83–106 at 103, fig. 13,

147. Hypothetical route of processions during ceremonies at provincial sanctuary of Tarraco. Reproduced from C. A. Pociña López, J. A. Remolà Vallverdú, "La plaza de representación de Tárraco: Intervenciones arqueológicas en la plaza del fòrum y la calle d'en compte" in J. Ruiz de Arbulo (ed.), *Tàrraco 99. Arqueologia d'una capital provincial romana* (Documents d'arqueologia clàssica 3), Tarragona, 2000, 27–45 at 43, fig. 30.

148. *As* from Coll. de Luynes, struck before 2 B.C., possibly showing statuettes with busts on Altar of Three Gauls. Enlarged from Vol. I, 1, Pl. XVd.

149. *Sestertius* of Augustus, struck before 2 B.C., possibly showing statuettes with busts on Altar of Three Gauls. Enlarged from Vol. I, 1, Pl. XVe.

150. Wall fresco from temple of Palmyrene gods at Dura Europus. Reproduced from Th. Pekáry, "Das Opfer vor dem Kaiserbild", *BJ* 186 (1986) 91–103 at 93.

151. *IDR* 3/2, 266 (Sarmizegetusa). Reproduced from *IDR* 3/2, fig. 218.

152. *RSS* 38 (Savaria). Reproduced from *RSS* Bild 29.

153. *IDR* 3/2, 79 (Sarmizegusa). Reproduced from *IDR* 3/2, fig. 61.

154. *ILA, Pétrucores* 16 (Vesunna). Reproduced from *ILA, Pétrucores* p. 90.

155a, b. *ILAndal* 2, 2, 339 (Itálica). Reproduced from *ILAndal* 2, 2, fig. 176.

156. Mosaic found at Ainay, illustrating circus games. Photograph by courtesy of Musée de la civilisation gallo-romaine, Lyon.

157. Lamp with gladiatorial scene, Emerita. Reproduced from T. Nogales Basarrate, *Espectáculos en* Augusta Emerita (Monografías Emeritenses 5), Badajoz, 2000, 148, Lám. XXXVI.

158. Bronze *ocrea*, Emerita. Reproduced from T. Nogales Basarrate, *Espectáculos en* Augusta Emerita (Monografías Emeritenses 5), Badajoz, 2000, 145, Lám. XXXIIA.

159. Fragmentary relief illustrating gladiator, Emerita. Reproduced from T. Nogales Basarrate, *Espectáculos en* Augusta Emerita (Monografías Emeritenses 5), Badajoz, 2000, 144, Lám. XXXIA.

160. Fragmentary relief illustrating group of gladiators, Emerita. Reproduced from T. Nogales Basarrate, *Espectáculos en* Augusta Emerita (Monografías Emeritenses 5), Badajoz, 2000, 141, Lám. XXVIIA.

161. *AE* (1989) 395 (Emerita). Reproduced from T. Nogales Basarrate, *Espectáculos en* Augusta Emerita (Monografías Emeritenses 5), Badajoz, 2000, 163, Lám. LI.

162. *CIL* $2^2$/7, 353 (Corduba). Photograph by courtesy of Museo Arqueológico y Etnológico de Córdoba, NR. 10.681.

163. *CIL* $2^2$/7, 363, (Corduba). Photograph by courtesy of Museo Arqueológico y Etnológico de Córdoba, NR. 21.993-C.

164. Illustration of gladiators. Photograph by courtesy of Musée de la civilisation gallo-romaine, Lyon.

165. Gladiators shown on oil lamp. Photograph by courtesy of Musée de la civilisation gallo-romaine, Lyon.

166. Gladiators shown on oil lamp. Photograph by courtesy of Musée de la civilisation gallo-romaine, Lyon.

167. Gladiators shown on oil lamp. Photograph by courtesy of Musée de la civilisation gallo-romaine, Lyon.

168. Section of wall painting from amphitheatre, Emerita. Reproduced from T. Nogales Basarrate, *Espectáculos en* Augusta Emerita (Monografías Emeritenses 5), Badajoz, 2000, 146, Lám. XXXIII.

169. Wall painting with hunting scene from Calle Suárez Somonte, Augusta Emerita. Reproduced from T. Nogales Basarrate, *Espectáculos en* Augusta Emerita (Monografías Emeritenses 5), Badajoz, 2000, 159, Lám. XLVII.

170. *RIT* 942 (Tarraco).

171. Model of Circus Maximus at Rome. Reproduced from T. Nogales Basarrate, *Espectáculos en* Augusta Emerita (Monografías Emeritenses 5), Badajoz, 2000, 135, Lám. XX. Photo by courtesy of Museo della Civiltá Romana, Rome.

172. Wall painting from Calle Suárez Somonte, Emerita, showing charioteer in competition. Reproduced from T. Nogales Basarrate, *Espectáculos en* Augusta Emerita (Monografías Emeritenses 5), Badajoz, 2000, 153, Lám. XLI

173. Mosaic showing the victorious charioteer Paulus, Emerita. Reproduced from T. Nogales Basarrate, *Espectáculos en* Augusta Emerita (Monografías Emeritenses 5), Badajoz, 2000, 155, Lám. XLIII.

174. Mosaic showing the victorious charioteer Marcianus, Emerita. Reproduced from T. Nogales Basarrate, *Espectáculos en* Augusta Emerita (Monografías Emeritenses 5), Badajoz, 2000, 156, Lám. XLIV.

175. *Quadriga*. Photograph by courtesy of Musée de la civilisation gallo-romaine, Lyon.

176. Chariot race. Photograph by courtesy of Musée de la civilisation gallo-romaine, Lyon.

177. Model of theatre of Augustus, Lugdunum. Photograph by courtesy of Musée de la civilisation gallo-romaine.

178. Model of stage of Hadrian's theatre, Lugdunum. Photograph by courtesy of Musée de la civilisation gallo-romaine.

179. Theatrical tragic mask, Corduba. Photograph by courtesy of Museo Arqueológico y Etnológico de Córdoba, NR. 27.107.

180. Theatrical mask of slave, Corduba. Photograph by courtesy of Museo Arqueológico y Etnológico de Córdoba, NR. 4. 662.

181. Bronze mask from the Roman villa, Torre Águila, Emerita. Reproduced from T. Nogales Basarrate, *Espectáculos en* Augusta Emerita (Monografías Emeritenses 5), Badajoz, 2000, 137, Lám. XXII.

182. *AE* (1993) 912 (Emerita). Reproduced from T. Nogales Basarrate, *Espectáculos en* Augusta Emerita (Monografías Emeritenses 5), Badajoz, 2000, 162, Lám. L.

183. Theatrical mask. Photograph by courtesy of Musée de la civilisation gallo-romaine, Lyon.

184. Theatrical mask. Photograph by courtesy of Musée de la civilisation gallo-romaine, Lyon.

# THE PROVINCIAL CENTRE

Evidence for provincial centres in the western provinces is presently restricted to what can be gleaned of those at Lugdunum and Tarraco, of which a great deal is known, also at Emerita, Corduba, Narbo Martius, Camulodunum and Sarmizegetusa, traces of which continue to accrue steadily; elsewhere one has to rely largely on inference.[1] What seems beyond dispute by now, however, is that the normal scheme included a temple or altar, a public forum with administrative buildings, and an associated structure for staging the spectacles that were attended by the masses on the principal festivals of the ruler cult, notably the emperor's birthday. While the enclave at Tarraco was furnished with a circus—though an amphitheatre lay in the near vicinity—the regular facility elsewhere was an amphitheatre. The existence of arenas at other locations provides a tenuous clue to the whereabouts of the provincial centre, which must have been within reasonable walking distance in order to allow for interconnecting processions.

The archetype for such an arrangement had long been established by existing sanctuaries for the worship of the Gods. The prime example is Delphi, which served as a meeting place for the amphictyony and boasted a theatre, a stadium, a gymnasium and a hippodrome, in addition to the temple of Pythian Apollo and a wealth of other sanctuaries and altars.[2] Faced with the task of building royal residences, Hellenistic architects combined such a sanctuary with a monumental palatial complex equipped with annexes appropriate to administrative and cultural functions. The standard scheme occurs already in Plato's description of the mythical palace of Atlantis, which was set on an acropolis and centred on a sanctuary sacred to Clito and Poseidon (*Critias* 116c–117a), but a similar pattern marks the lay-out of the acropolis of Halicarnassus or the *basileia* of Alexandria. As P. Gros has pointed out,[3] different formulae could be adopted to suit similar requirements but the common features observable at all such towns are the combination of public with private space on the one hand, of profane with religious on the other. The fusion of cultic and palatial elements is seen at its clearest in the arrangments on the upper terraces of the acropolis of Pergamum, where the *temenos* of Athene is inseparable from the contiguous royal residences to the east. Such attempts of Hellenistic monarchs to sacralize their domain appear at their most scandalous, of course, in the action of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who set up house in the Parthenon. A constant further norm of the common architectural composition is the role played by a building for spectacles. Thus at Pergamum the theatre climbing the hillside hinges the lower terrace to the acropolis, while at Alexandria the palace on the penisular of Lochias communicated directly with the nearby theatre via the Syrinx, a portico in two stages.

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[1] I am very much indebted to G. Alföldy, X. Dupré i Raventos, J. Ruiz de Arbulo Bayona, J. M. Alvarez Martinez, J. L. de la Barrera, T. Nogales Basarrate, J. L. Jiménez Salvador, J. A. C. Garriguet Mata, C. Márquez and J. R. Carillo, without whose advice and asssistance in forwarding inaccessible material the sections on Tarraco, Emerita and Corduba could not have been treated in detail.

[2] For a useful summary see *PECS* 264–7 (Roux).

Curiously, the earliest trace of such a design in the West is fictional. Vergil's allegorical account in the prologue of *Georgics III* describes a cult place of the emperor with a temple on which processions converge, also horse-races, scenic performances and pugilistic contests in the palaestra.[4] Triumphal in character, these ceremonies, which the poet sets along the river Mincio by Mantua, celebrate the new territories he has won for Latin literature, and in the context of the hippodrome, theatre and temple evoke the Actian games or at least a festival in the tradition of the Ludi Victoriae or Ludi Apollinares. As has long been recognized, this poetic portrayal presents an architectural scheme that recalls the palaces of Hellenistic kings and clearly foreshadows the monumental complex of Augustus now under construction in the south-west sector of the Palatine hill. Even if the Temple of Apollo was not yet consecrated at the time of Vergil's composition, the reliefs on the door of the *cella* represent the sanctuary of the prologue as a votive offering for victory over the forces of the east at Actium.

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[3] Gros, Palais (1996) 234ff.

[4] *in medio mihi Caesar erit templumque tenebit.*
*illi victor ego et Tyrio conspectus in ostro*
*centum quadriiugos agitabo ad flumina currus.*
*cuncta mihi, Alpheum linquens lucosque Molorchi,*
*cursibus et crudo decernet Graecia caestu.*
*ipse caput tonsae filiis ornatus olivae*
*dona feram. iam nunc sollemnis ducere pompas*
*ad delubra iuvat caesosque videre iuvencos,*
*vel scaena ut versis discedat frontibus utque*
*purpurea intexti tollant aulaea Britanni.* (lines 16–25)

Cf. Vol. II, 1, 590, n. 698; cf. 581, n. 652.

A key point to have emerged from recent scholarship is that the sequence of *aedes Apollinis*, *area Apollinis*, and Circus Maximus defined a unified complex, the coherence of which is obscured by the present state of its remains.[5] On Gros' reconstruction the *area Apollinis* will have extended to the south-west by a system of terraces and ramps that supported in particular the portico of the Danaïds; in this way the buildings that invested this part of the hill or even overhung the natural slope of the terrain will have secured an architectural unity that connected with the hippodrome below and established a sequence from the summit of the hill to the Vallis Murcia. This evident link with the Circus Maximus, expensively restored after the fire of 31 B.C., is borne out by numerous historical allusions to its role in Apollinian or Augustan celebrations,[6] also by the location, on the tiers of its south side, of an imperial *pulvinar* which the *Res Gestae* describes as *aedes* or *naos*. The integration of the *Circus Maximus* with the complex, its pertinence to the Palatial system, is visible also in the statuary programme of its *spina*, which emphasizes a double link with Apollo and Victory—an allusion repeated in the buildings and the symbolism of the palace above.[7]

What the ensemble amounts to, therefore, is a unitary complex on the Pergamum model, only the extremities of which—the temple and circus—allow one nowadays to grasp the way it reproduced the Hellenistic ideal of a converted hill on which structures rose without break in continuity. Confirmation of the organic nature of the whole is nevertheless provided by the fact that this sequence of temple, public area and hippodrome set the pattern for various installations both east and west. The clearest examples are the provincial sanctuaries at Ancyra and Tarraco.[8] At the capital of Galatia only the position of the temple has so far been established by archaeological exploration, but the precinct evidently occupied an elevated position outside the city on a slope of the foothills of the Altindağ, the land having been donated by Pylaimenes, son of Amyntas, the last king of Galatia.[9] With its dominating temple of Roma and Augustus, on the inside walls of which was inscribed the Latin text of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, its public place for the celebration of festivals with their processions, and its associated hippodrome for entertainment (*OGIS* 533), the Galatian enclave corresponds remarkably closely to the Roman scheme.

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[5] Gros (1994) 51–2; *id.*, Palais (1996) 237ff.; Architecture (1996) 231; Jiménez (1998) 14.

[6] Humphrey (1986) 63, 69, 73ff., 281 with refs.

[7] For the association of Apollo with Victory, whose ancient temple just west of the Temple of Apollo and the *domus Augusta* was apparently rebuilt under the second Triumvirate, see Vol. I, 1, 108–9, 111–18; Gros, Palais (1996) 238–9 with refs.

[8] For a convenient summary in the context of the Hellenistic-Roman Republican background see recently Peña (2000) 18–19 with bibl.

Whether the Ancyra complex was patterned solely on the lay-out of the Palatium or to a greater or lesser degree drew inspiration from existing Hellenistic systems can hardly be determined. There can at any rate be no doubt that the complex at Tarraco, which presents a striking parallel to the arrangement at Ancyra, borrows heavily from the Roman model. Along with the sanctuary by Lugdunum the triple-terraced site at the capital city of Hither Spain is today the best known complex of its kind in the western empire.[10] It consequently requires detailed discussion first, though it should be stressed at the outset that the provincial centre at Lugudunum came earlier in order of foundation.

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[9] Hänlein-Schäfer (1985) 25, 40–1, 184–90, 289–90; Gros, Architecture (1996) 229–31.

[10] On the role of Tarraco as the capital city of the province see Ruiz de Arbulo (1998) 37–9. For arguments that Tarraco achieved colonial status *ca.* 45/44 B.C. see Alföldy, Kolonie (2000); further Ruiz de Arbulo (2002).

## CHAPTER ONE

# TARRACO

### i. *The Provincial Precinct*

#### a. Sources

The starting point for enquiry is the celebrated "Temple of Augustus" mentioned in the literary sources.[1] Among the events he records under A.D. 15 Tacitus reports that an embassy of Spaniards received permission to construct a temple to Augustus at the colony of Tarraco: *templum ut in colonia Tarraconensi strueretur Augusto petentibus Hispanis permissum, datumque in omnes provincias exemplum* (*Ann.* 1, 78). As the petition is dated well after the emperor's deification, the temple can have been only to Divus Augustus, but otherwise the passage offers no clue to the status of the structure beyond the enigmatic comment *datumque in omnes provincias exemplum*. Whether the example is the construction of a temple to Augustus or the sending of a legation to ask permission is not clear, nor is the implication of *in omnes provincias:* of Spain or generally in the west? Beyond the fact that authorization was granted in A.D. 15 we are given no clue as to when construction of the temple began or was completed, but it was evidently in need of repairs by the winter of A.D. 121–2, since Hadrian restored it at his own expense when he visited Tarraco: *post haec Hispanias petiit et Tarracone hiemavit, ubi sumptu suo aedem Augusti restituit* (*SHA*, *Hadr.* 12, 3). Sixty years or so later, if one can believe the source, renovations were once again required on the occasion of Septimius Severus' visit to Spain some time after A.D 177: *tunc ad Hispaniam missus somniavit primo sibi dici, ut templum Tarraconense Augusti, quod iam labebatur, restitueret* (*SHA*, *Sev.* 3,4).

For further evidence one can turn in the first place to the coins. A series of *dupondii* struck at Tarraco (Vol. I, 1, Pl. XXVII) show on their obverses the radiate head of Augustus with the legend DIVVS

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[1] Vol. I, 1, 150–1 with refs.; Gimeno (1994) 61ff.; Ruiz de Arbulo (1990) 132; *id.* (1993) 98 with n. 20; Garriguet, Culto (1997) 44–5; Fishwick, Temple of Augustus (1999) 121ff. On the dream of Septimius Severus see now Panzram (2002) 82–3.

AVGVSTVS PATER or a seated figure of the deified Augustus with DEO AVGVSTO, on the reverses a temple with the legend AETERNITATIS AVGVSTAE and C(*olonia*) V(*rbs*) T(*riumphalis*) T(*arraco*); the obverse of a similar issue differs in showing the laureate head of Tiberius with TI. CAESAR DIVI AVG. F. AVGVSTVS.[2] There is no immediate clue to date beyond the fact that they were struck under Tiberius but it is worth noting that other coins from Tarraco associate Tiberius with Livia and the Younger Drusus (dated by his grant of *trib. pot.* to A.D. 22) or allude to the adoption of Germanicus and Drusus by Tiberius (before A.D. 19).[3] Quite possibly, therefore, the series as a whole may date from the earlier part of Tiberius' reign. The temple is represented as octostyle and supports a pediment decorated at the centre with a disc and surmounted by acroteria in the shape of palms; columns complete with Corinthian (composite?) capitals stand on a wide stylobate that in some cases resembles two steps, in others a podium with stairway of four steps leading to the stylobate and flanked by parotids. That the radiate figure on the obverse was intended to portray the cult statue within the temple looks entirely conceivable, though the pose differs notably from type to type. Whereas on one issue Augustus sits on a curule chair holding the *patera*, on other coins he appears seated on a throne, holding in his left hand a spear, in his right a globe on which stands a small winged Victory. What these discrepancies imply remains to be determined (below, pp. 27–8) but it may be noted that the former type appears only in combination with the reverse showing the temple with *podium* and four steps. As the seated figure is patently linked to a Roman type of A.D. 22–3,[4] J. Gimeno suggests the possibility of two separate issues struck A.D. 15–22 and 22–3 respectively. A rather different sequence is proposed by A. Burnett *et al.*, who place the obverses with the radiate head of Augustus or the seated figure holding Victory between A.D. 15 and 21/22, the rest later.[5]

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[2] Vol. I, 1, 151–2 with n. 8 and Pl. XXVII; TED'A, Foro (1989) 153–4; Aquilué *et al.* (1999) 27. See now *RPC* 104–5, nos. 219, 222, 224, 226 (Plate 16); Garriguet, Culto (1997) 45–6; Fishwick, Coinage (1999) 102–5.

[3] Gil (1966) 438, 440, 449, 477; *RPC* 105, nos. 232–3 (Plate 17).

[4] On one issue Tiberius, laureate and togate, sits left on the curule chair holding the *patera* in the right hand, a long sceptre in the left. On the other Augustus, radiate and togate, is seated left on a throne holding a branch or a *patera* in the right hand, in the left a long sceptre: *BMCRE* 1, 129–30, nos. 70–5 (A.D. 22–3); Carson (1980) 2, 14, nos. 363–4, taking the representation of Augustus to reproduce the statue erected by Tiberius and Livia near the theatre of Marcellus. The same type appears at Caesaraugusta (*RPC* 123, nos. 344, 346; Plates 24–5) and Turiaso (*RPC* 133, no. 422; Plate 30), also at Italica, where Livia is similarly represented (*RPC* 78, nos. 66–7; Plate 5) On local copies of imperial types see Vol. I, 1, 183; *RPC* 46.

By far our most illuminating source of information, however, is the archaeological record. While the first notices of material discoveries go back to the mediaeval period, significant investigation of the upper city of Tarraco dates from the second half of the nineteenth century when the most important name is that of B. Hernández Sanahuja.[6] Early discussion concluded that the uppermost terrace was occupied by two distinct temples dedicated to Augustus and Jupiter respectively. The existence of a temple of Augustus was inferred from the coins and a dedication *Divo Augusto* found on the site of the present-day hotel Imperial Tarraco (*RIT* 64),[7] to which could be added marble fragments from the plaza of the Pescateries Velles and its vicinity, already mentioned in a document of 1340. The site of this temple was consequently located in the sector of Pescateria, more precisely in the south-east part of the upper terrace between Calle San Lorenzo and Calle Santas Creus, where an ornamental frieze with sculpted plants came to light (Vol. I, 1, Pl. XXVIIIb).[8] Along with fragments of marble columns found nearby on the plaza del Foro in 1917, this was thought to originate from a temple.[9] It should be noted, however, that the interpretation of the upper terrace was already complicated by other remains, the provenience of which was variously reported, *inter alia* a series of reliefs bordered above and below by a Lesbian cyma and showing bucrania with hanging oak swags, cult implements, and the apexes of imperial *flamines* (Vol. I, 1, Pls. XXXI–XXXII). Attributed by some commentators to the altar of Augustus mentioned by Quintilian

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[5] Gimeno (1994) 31ff.; *RPC* (above, n. 2) *loc.cit.*

[6] TED'A, Foro (1989) 142–9 with bibl. and figs. 1,2: cf. *eid.*, Abocador (1989) 25–48 with bibl. and fig. 7 (35), fig. 9 (39); Mar (1993) 107–11.

[7] Now lost and known only from an eighteenth century copy, the inscription has been thought to originate from the temple, though for no compelling reasons: Vol. I, 1, 153 with n. 21 and refs. For the suggestion that the dedication originated from the architrave (?) of the imperial temple conjecturally identified beside the basilica in the lower, colonial forum see now Alföldy, Cultura epigráfica (2002) 65 with n. 29 and refs.

[8] So Hernández followed later by Puig y Cadafalch: TED'A, Foro (1989) 153–4.

[9] TED'A, Foro (1989) 148; Abocador (1989) 38; Hänlein-Schäfer (1985) 234 with n. 11, refers to the discovery of a temple(?) east of the upper terrace in 1917 but stresses that this cannot have been the temple of Augustus; cf. Vol. I, 1, 154 with Vol. II, 1, 519, n. 270. Gimeno returns to this idea, below p. 25 with note 76.

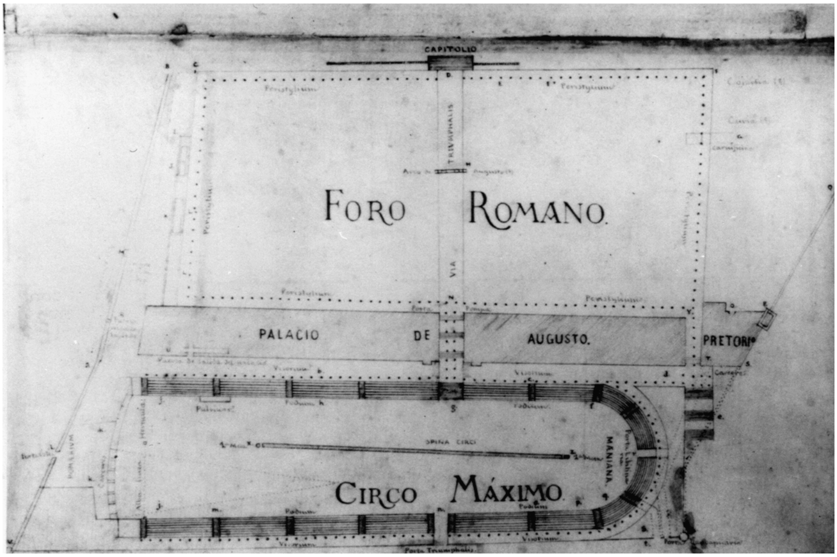

Plate 72. Plan of provincial precinct according B. Hernández (1877).

(*De inst. orat.* 6, 3, 77; Vol. I, 1, Pl. XXXVIIb),[10] these relics were built into one of the walls of the cathedral cloister on the occasion of a royal visit in 1802.[11] The remaining architectonic fragments are nowadays divided between various museums at Tarraco: the Museo Nacional Arqueológico, the Museo Diocesano and the Museo de Historia de Tarragona.

The existence of a temple of Jupiter, in contrast, rested on Suetonius' reference to the *vetus templum Iovis* at Tarraco[12] together with epigraphical evidence for the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (*RIT* 30–2, cf. 28–9), more particularly a small altar to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus (*RIT* 33) and a statue base dedicated to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva (*RIT* 34). To this testimony was added an allusion by Florus to the honour paid to Jupiter Ammon at Tarraco; *quippe si vetera templa respicias, hic ille colitur corniger praedo, qui Tyriam virginem portans dum per tota maria lascivit, hic amisit et substitit*… (*Vergilius, Orator an Poeta?* 2, 9). Hernández took the site of this second temple to have been

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[10] Vol. I, 1. 171–9, noting that that the municipal altar should rather be located in the lower forum, a view now universally accepted; cf. Ruiz de Arbulo (1998) 46 with nn. 90–1; Jiménez (1998) 12.

[11] TED'A, Foro (1989) 145, nn. 6–7, 146, n. 12.

[12] *Quodque oblatam a Tarraconensibus e vetere templo Iovis coronam auream librarum quindecim conflasset*…(*Galba* 12, 1).

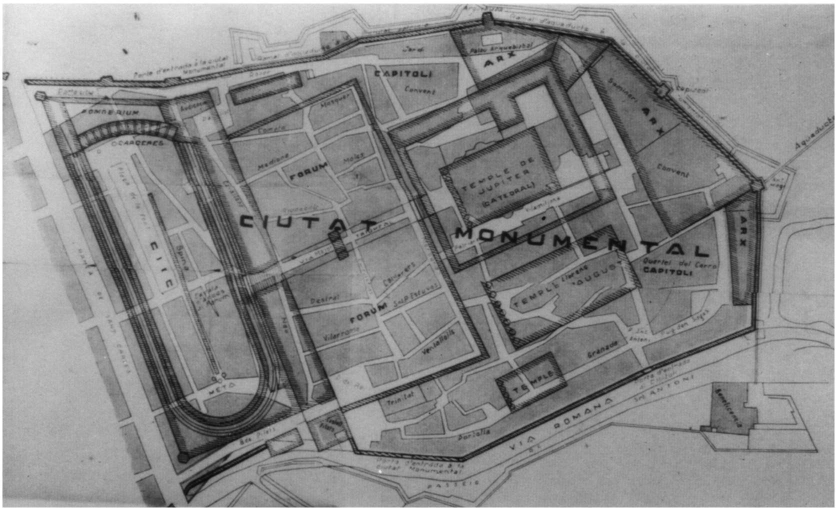
Porta d'entrada a la ciutat Monumental
CAPITOLI
Convent
Palau Arquebisbal
ARX
Seminari
ARX
Convent
ARX
Aqueducte
POMOERIUM
CARCERES
FORUM
Mediona
Moles
Compte
Merceria
CIUTAT
MONUMENTAL
TEMPLE DE JUPITER (CATEDRAL)
Vilamitjana
Via Major
Plaça de la Font
CIRC
Spina
Quarter del Carro
CAPITOLI
TEMPLE Lliurat AUGUST
Cavallers
Destral
FORUM
Baixada
Vilarroma
Ventallols
Granada
META
TEMPLE
Trinitat
Portella
VIA ROMANA
Sant Antoni
Porta d'entrada a la ciutat Monumental
Passeig
Rambla de Sant Carles
Beneficencia

Plate 73. Plan of "Ciutat Monumental" of Tarraco according to C. Oliva (1932).

in the zone of the mediaeval cathedral (Pl. 72),[13] a location apparently confirmed during construction from 1883 of a new seminary in the upper part of the cathedral, when spectacular architectonic and iconographic remains came to light, notably fragments of *clipei* with the head of Jupiter Ammon (Vol. I, 1, Pl. XXIXb).[14] On the hypothesis proposed by J. Puig i Cadafalch such an ornamental disk would have been attached to the pediment of a temple, a type of decoration that can be widely paralleled elsewhere.[15] One version of this view consequently attributed a *clipeus* to the temple of Jupiter but, as the coins clearly show a disk on the pediment of the octostyle temple, it was alternatively supposed that the same ornamentation could have embellished the temple of Augustus. The ideal reconstruction of the provincial temple drawn by Puig i Cadafalch plainly represents the centre of the pediment adorned with a Jupiter Ammon *clipeus* (Vol. I, 1, Pl. XXX).[16] How-

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[13] For Hernández's hypothetical reconstruction of the provincial precinct see TED'A, Abocador (1989) 35, fig. 7 = TED'A, Foro (1989) 147, fig. 3. See now Bendala (1989–90) 22.

[14] Cf. Hänlein-Schäfer (1985) 235; TED'A, Foro (1989) 147, 153, 165; *eid.*, Abocador (1989) 438; Koppel (1990) 338; Aquilué *et al.* (1999) 79; Pensabene (1993) 89–97. For further discussion see below, pp. 24–5.

[15] Etienne (1958) 413 with n. 3, citing Puig i Cadafalch (1909) 51; *id.* (1934) 104; cf. Beltrán (1953) 61; TED'A, Foro (1989) 154 with n. 65; Verzàr (1977) 36.

[16] See Vol. I, 153 with Pl. XXX.

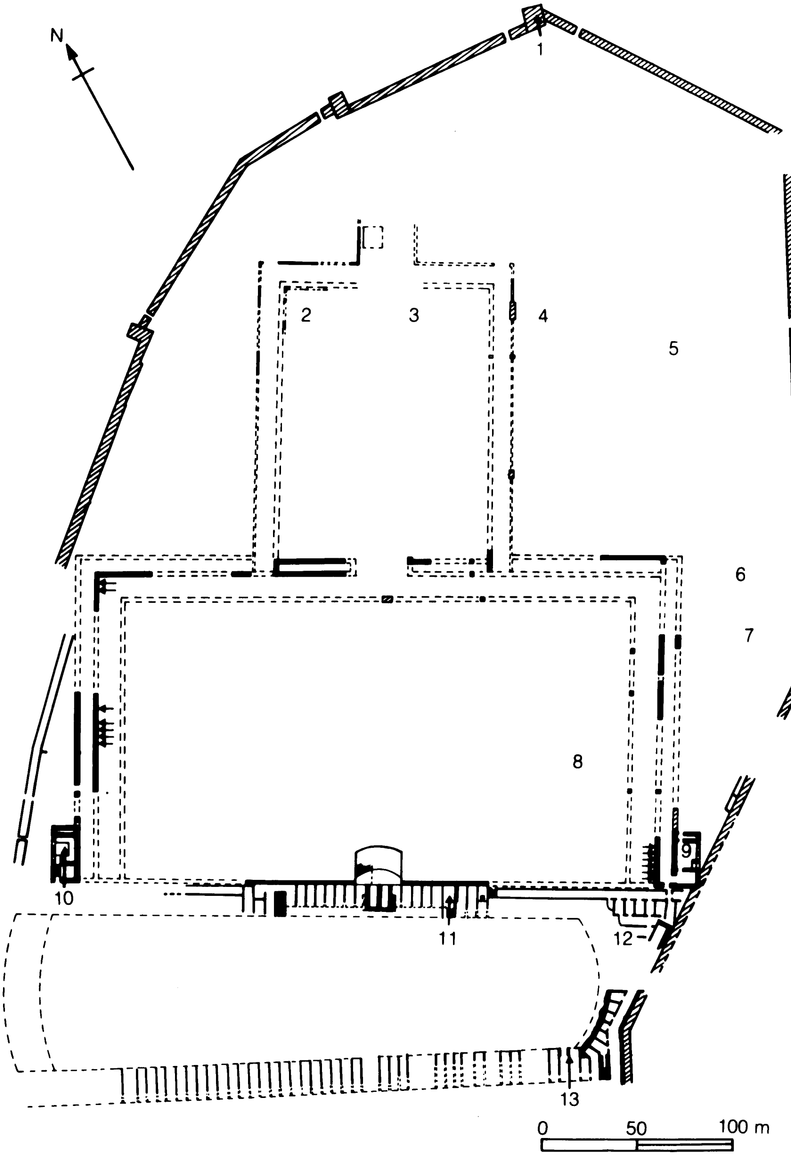

Plate 74. Plan of Republican walled enclosure and Flavian architectural complex in upper city of Tarraco showing excavated late Roman levels. 1. Torre de Minerva; 2. Cathedral cloister; 3. Cathedral garden; 4. New seat of the Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos of Catalunya; 5. Santes Creus; 6. Plaça Rovellat; 7. Plaça dels Angels; 8. Vilaroma; 9. *Praetorium*; 10. Antiga Audiencia; 11. Circus vault in Trinquet Vell nr. 12; 12. Circus vault CEN-D; 13. Vaults of the south-east sector of the circus (TED'A).

ever, the overall picture began to be clouded from the beginning of the present century by the discovery of important remains elsewhere, in particular in the region of the plaza of Oli (near the ancient Carnicerias), below the sacristy of the cathedral, and in the Pescateria. Even so, A. Schulten's important synthesis, first published in 1921, continued to locate the temple of Jupiter on the site of the cathedral, that of Augustus in the zone of Pescateria (Pl. 73). Archaeological exploration in the thirties by Serra Vilaró behind the cathedral and in the fifties by Sanchez Real in the plaza of Pallol and the cathedral cloister resulted in J. M. Recasen's more cautious charaterization of the upper terrace as 'zona dels grans temples' and the middle terrace as 'zona d'edificiis administratius oficials', but the basic location of the two temples remained unaltered (Vol. I, 1, Pl. XXXV).[17]

The most successful phase of exploration in recent years dates from Th. Hauschild's work in the seventies and eighties (Vol. I, 1, Pl. XXXIV) and has since been continued, notably by the excavations of the Taller Escola d'Arqueologia de Tarragona (TED'A). In light of the most recent archaeological findings a revised, significantly different reconstruction becomes possible, more particularly of the top and middle terraces with their monumental structures.

### b. The sanctuary

What seems firmly established by now is that the provincial centre at Tarraco consisted of a vast complex of *ca.* 11 hectares, occupying the three terraces of the upper city, the whole enclosed by the city wall dating from the earliest period of Roman occupation under the Scipios (Pl. 74).[18] The two upper levels, *ca.* 7.5 hectares in extent, were the site of a *temenos* connected by a stairway to a large open plaza, while on the third was constructed a circus separated by the urban passage of the Via Augusta from the habitations of the town, which stretched between the circus and the harbour. On the uppermost terrace, where construction involved significant modification of the terrain, the cult precinct itself covered a rectangular area 153m long by 133.10m (=450 Roman feet) wide—more than 2 hectares—and was surrounded on at least three sides by a portico 14m wide. The rear wall of this was evidently broken by windows a little more than 2m wide and placed regularly at an intervening distance of 7.4m to coincide with the intercolumniation—very much like the arrangement in the left-hand portico of the forum of Sufétula or the great precinct of the first century A.D at Palmyra—while the two extremities of the central portico coincided with the lateral portico in *exedrae*. In line with the north-east, south-west axis of the complex as a whole, the centre of the top portico opened into a large room 27.5m wide and at least 20m deep (the full depth is unknown), which was bordered laterally by a socle of large stone blocks and covered by a flooring of white marble plates, much of which survives. The total facade, including the end columns, measured 29.7m—almost exactly 100 Roman feet.

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[17] Accepted by Alföldy in *RE* Suppl. 15 (1978) 600–1 with refs.; followed in Vol. I, 2, 154, but see Vol. II, 1, 519, n. 270.

[18] Hauschild, Tarraco (1976) 1, 217; cf. 2, 261–3; TED'A, Foro (1989) 151–7; cf. *eid.*, Abocador (1989) 435, 437–40; Dupré–Carreté (1986–89) 290–9; Dupré i Raventós (1990) 319–25; Hänlein-Schäfer (1985) 233–7; Mar (1993) 113–28. For detailed measurements of the provincial complex see Cortés (1987) 10–13. For a helpful outline see now Dupré i Raventós (1995) 361ff.; Ruiz de Arbulo (1998) 48ff.; Aquilué *et al.* (1999) 74–83; Jiménez (1998) 13. On the Republican background see recently Aquilué–Dupré (1986). For the foundation of the colony of Torraco *ca.* 44 B.C. see Alföldy, Kolonie (2000); *id.* (2001) 26–7; Ruiz de Arbulo (2002); Panzram (2002) 46–50.

Here on this upper terrace, it is generally believed, stood the "Temple of Augustus", though its exact site remains a matter of debate as no architectonic elements have been found *in situ*. On the other hand there seems no reason to doubt that to this structure belonged the numerous fragments that have been found over the years. Of particular note are iconographic fragments relating to cult practice and ritual (Vol. I, 1, Pls. XXXI, XXXIIa), several capitals (*ibid.* Pl. XXIXa) which because of their proportions should be assigned not to the temple itself but to the portico (their relation to the portico of the central plaza on the middle terrace cannot be ruled out), remains of marble fluted columns (*ibid.* Pl. XXVIIIa) and fragments of marble cornices, presumably from the temple, also a considerable amount of unattributed architectonic remnants and sculpted reliefs which clearly concern the imperial cult. The best known of these elements are the fragmentary *clipei* of colossal size, *ca.* 1.50m in diameter, with the head of Jupiter Ammon or Medusa (*ibid.* Pl. XXIXb).[19]

The biggest advance in our knowledge of the upper esplanade in recent years has been the elimination of any possibility that it could have been the site of a temple of Jupiter. It may noted in the first place that the theory according to which the *clipei* were attached to a temple pediment transparently falls down on the basis of its own premise. Even if one were to attribute a disk to each temple respectively, considerably more than two *clipei* have now been found, with approximately fifty fragments surviving in all.[20] More fundamentally, the circular decoration shown on the coins may correspond rather to a *corona civica* or, it has been suggested, represent schematically a decorated pediment.[21] Secondly, since the inscriptions refer to the cult of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, an associated temple must have been a Capitolium (cf. *RIT* 33–4). Suetonius' reference to the *vetus templum Iovis* must also refer, one would have thought, to the local Capitolium, a standard feature of Roman foundations. It follows that neither source can be brought into relation with the passage in Florus, which plainly alludes to the honour paid to Jupiter Ammon (see further below, p. 17). In supposing that all related to one and the same temple of Jupiter previous discussion evidently conflated incompatible testimonia: Jupiter Capitolinus is not Jupiter Ammon. The view, originally proposed by Hernández, that the temple in the zone of the cathedral was a Capitolium might be thought justified to some extent by the location, which constitutes a sort of acropolis of Tarraco—Martial refers to *Tarraconis arces* (*Epigr*. 10, 104, 3) and Ausonius describes Tarraco as *arce potens* (*Ordo urbium nobilium* 11)—but it is now clear from archaeological investigation that the area lay originally outside the old, lower city and was earlier the site of a military encampment. The excavations of Hauschild have further revealed that there were no buildings at all in the upper city until late in the reign of Tiberius at the earliest.[22] For this reason too it is highly improbable that the Capitolium could be identical with what until recently was thought to be a second temple situated to the south-east of the upper terrace in the sector of Pescateria (above, p. 7; Vol. I, 1, Pl. XXXV).[23] The Capitolium of Tarraco must rather be placed in the lower city, in all probability beside the presumed site of the municipal forum, where a slight elevation would give it a dominating position. Such an inference looks confirmed by the circumstance that it is precisely by the municipal *forum*, at the nerve-centre of the city, that are situated the *capitolia* of the Iberian peninsula that can be archaeologically documented with some security, in particular those at Baelo Claudia, Clunia, Emporiae, Saguntum and Pollentia on Majorca.[24] It might be added that among surviving inscriptions of Tarraco relevant to the cult of Jupiter only five are of known provenience. These come from outside the city walls or from the lower city, one in fact from the region of the municipal forum (*RIT* 31).

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[19] TED'A, Foro (1989) 160–6 with figs. 8–11; Koppel (1990) 338; Pensabene (1993) 89–97.

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[20] Jiménez (1987) 38; TED'A, Foro (1989) 164 with fig. 11.

[21] Verzàr (1977) 36–7 with n. 55.

[22] Hauschild (1972–74) 8–9; TED'A, Foro (1989) 148–9 with refs.; Ruiz de Arbulo (1990) 121–2.

[23] *RE* Suppl. 15 (1978) 600–1 (Alföldy); cf. Hänlein-Schäfer (1985) 236. Vitruvius emphasises that a Capitolium should stand *in excelsissimo loco unde moenium maxima pars conspiciatur* (1, 7, 1).

Could then the *clipei* be combined with the reference in Florus to provide evidence for a temple of Jupiter Ammon on the uppermost terrace? Such a possibility has now been definitively excluded by the analysis of Hauschild in particular, who demonstrates beyond further debate that the *clipei* with masks of Jupiter Ammon and Medusa must have been attached to the attic of the portico surrounding the imperial temple. As a result, they can have had nothing to do with a supposed temple of Jupiter.[25] The model for such an arrangement was that at the Forum Augustum in Rome,[26] where the attic along the long sides of the portico was hung with rows of *imagines clipeatae* showing in some cases the horned head of Jupiter Ammon alternating with caryatids, in others a head with a beard, tousled hair and a ring around the neck—perhaps a portrayal of Gaul or Germany. The paradigm for such a scheme was Alexander's innovation in suspending triumphal gold shields on the Parthenon after the victory of the Granicus, though it is worth noting that in Rome Marius had likewise set up *clipei* in the Roman forum after his victory over the Cimbri. In the Forum Augustum the motif is clearly associated with the *imitatio Alexandri* but the image of Jupiter Ammon, the oracular god venerated at the oasis of Siwa, makes an unmistakable reference to the Roman conquest of Egypt in 31/30 B.C. after Actium.[27] A second link with the victorious Roman army may also be implied, given that masks of Jupiter Ammon appear elsewhere in a military connection, notably on the flaps of breast plates; otherwise masks of Ammon and Medusa have an apotropaic character, the roots of which go back to the Hellenistic world.[28] As for the caryatids, Zanker inferred from a reference in Vitruvius that these were *exempla servitudinis*, representations of the peoples conquered by Augustus, but a more likely association seems to be with the Caryatids of the Erechtheum on the Acropolis.[29] To copy these at Rome would have underlined the financing of the Forum Augustum *ex manubiis* (*RG* 21) and be related to the practice of displaying in public places statues which had been taken as booty.

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[24] Bendala (1989–90) 14–15, 22–3, 24–9.

[25] Hauschild (1972–74) 38 with Ab. 28; Mar (1993) 138ff. There is no reason to follow Verzàr (1977) 39 with fig. 8, in attributing the *clipei* to the temple *podium*.

[26] For the relationship of the attic to the interior of the portico see Bauer (1987); *id.* (1988).

[27] Verzàr (1977) 34–6 with refs.; TED'A, Foro (1989) 165. See now in general Marco (1990) 145ff.

What has become clear in recent years is that this arrangement in the Forum Augustum established a Roman model that was rapidly transmitted and copied in the provinces, particularly at sanctuaries of the imperial cult.[30] At Mérida, for example, remains of caryatids and fragments of *clipei* with the heads of Jupiter Ammon and Medusa are currently attributed to the portico of the "marble" forum that evidently stood to the north-east side of the "old forum" on which the municipal imperial temple—the so-called "Temple of Diana"—faces.[31] Fragmentary *clipei* similarly occur at Clunia and Corduba, where a recently identified *forum adiectum* is remarkable for an architectural scheme similarly modelled on the Forum Augustum.[32] In Gaul remnants of *clipei* at Arles look to be associated with an imperial sanctuary and the same may be true of traces found at Caderousse, Vienne, Versoix, Geneva and Avenches.[33] Elsewhere heads of Jupiter Ammon and Medusa commonly interchange as part of the architectonic decoration of forums in the region of the North Adriatic, notably at Zara, Pola, Trieste, and

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[28] For the background of Ammon see in general *LIMC* 1, 666–9, 684–9 (Leclant–Clerq). For the link with the Gorgoneion see *ibid.* 685.

[29] Zanker (1968) 13; Kockel (1988), noting that the Roman copies hold a libation bowl.

[30] On the transposition of Roman models to the provinces, in particular the iconographic programme of the Forum Augustum and the Temple of Mars Ultor, see Gros (1995) 50–1.

[31] Trillmich (1990) 310ff., *id.* (1995) 278–80 with Abb. 2; cf. earlier Garcia y Bellido (1949) 415, no. 417. For detailed discussion see below, pp. 61–5. I am indebted to J. M. Alvarez Martínez for a helpful letter in the matter.

[32] Márquez, Decoración (1998) 176–8 with map showing reconstruction of the urban plan of Roman Córdoba. Detailed discussion below, pp. 79–83.

[33] Verzàr (1977) 38ff., noting the influence of Arles as an artistic centre that gave a provincial stamp to a motif originating in Rome. See in particular Gros (1987) 350–2, 357ff. with fig. 18, dating under Tiberius an Augustan programme on the *forum adiectum* of Arles, where a temple dominates an area defined by two lateral *exedrae.* For a list of *clipei* see the catalogue of Leclant-Clerq, *LIMC* 1, 672–4.

Aquileia,[34] and a similar alternation was doubtless the rule elsewhere.[35] These motifs—salient masks rather than *clipei*—can decorate the lower part of a temple, for example the balustrade of the Capitolium at Zara, the upper part of a portico or perhaps a temple *podium* as at Aquileia, or the upper portico of the *basilica* as at Trieste and elsewhere. A somewhat different arrangement must nevertheless be supposed at Tarraco, where three types of the central emblem can be identified on the reconstructed tondi, two of which bear the head of Jupiter Ammon, one that of Medusa and a third (found in the Portal del Carro) the representation of another bearded deity—very much as at the Forum Augustum.[36] A further variation at Tarraco is that, in place of caryatids as notably at Mérida, candelabra some 60cm. wide look to have alternated with the *clipei*.[37]

The plain significance of the *clipei* at Tarraco is therefore that they immitate the ideological programme of the Forum Augustum in Rome.[38] As such, they "show the flag" and express allegiance with and sympathy towards the occupying power. In a sense they amount to abstract representations of the Imperial power, whereas in Rome the *imagines clipeatae* relate to actual historical events and must have conjured up glorious Roman conquests to the gaze of onlookers.[39] Whether there is any possibility of a direct *imitatio Alexandri* at Tarraco is hard to say but, for what is is worth, a passage in Orosius records that a legation of Indians and Scythians, having crossed the whole earth, met Augustus at Tarraco in Hither Spain, beyond which they could not have sought him, and transferred to him the glory of Alexander the Great. Just as an embassy of Spaniards and Gauls had come to Alexander at Babylon in the middle of the Orient in pursuit of peace, so in Spain in the furthest west the eastern Indian and the northern Scythian besought Augustus as suppliants, bringing gifts of their countries (*Hist. adv. pag.* 6, 21, 19–20). How reliable this account might be is very uncertain, but

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[34] Budischovsky (1973) 201–20; Verzàr (1977) 41–4; Marco (1990) 143–4; Fischer (1996) 18–19. For representations of Ammon in the plastic arts generally see the full catalogue of Leclant–Clerq, *o.c.* 669–84.

[35] Leclant–Clerq, *o.c.* 685, cf. 673 (nos. 39–44).

[36] Koppel (1990) 332ff. with n. 32, especially 336, 340.

[37] Mar (1993) 141–4 with figs. 21–4; Garriguet, Culto (1997) 53. For earlier discussion see Hölscher (1984) 31; Koppel, *o.c.* 339–40, suggesting that the attic of the portico may have been decorated solely with *clipei*.

[38] Ruiz de Arbulo (1998) 56. For the possibility of further correspondencies at Tarraco with the scheme at Rome see below, p. 28, n. 85.

[39] Jiménez (1987) 39, 43–4.

Augustus assumed his eighth and ninth consulships at Tarraco in 26–24 B.C. and embassies of Indians and Scythians are certainly recorded in the sources.[40] If the incident of the Indian and Scythian embassies is based on fact and Augustus was recognized as having been honoured at Tarraco in the same way as Alexander at Babylon, there is an outside possibility that a direct allusion to Alexander is to be read into the Jupiter Ammon masks at Tarraco. Whatever the truth of this there can be no question that the rows of *clipei* suspended from the portico of the cult precinct at the provincial centre are primarily a loyal copy of the *imagines* that decorated the portico of the Forum Augustum. As such, they enhance the majesty of the empire by dignifying its public buildings (Vitruv., *De arch.* 1, *pref.* 2).[41]

It follows that there is no longer any case for locating the temple of Jupiter Ammon within the cult precinct of the provincial centre.[42] Whether such a temple could have stood somewhere in the lower city may also be doubted. Traces of the god take a variety of forms in the western Roman empire—herms, reliefs, *clipei*, candelabra, gems, vases, lamps, shields, *phalerae*, jewels, coins—but temples seem to be a phenomenon restricted to the Greek world, as at Gytheum, Sparta, Athens and Thebes.[43] In point of fact Florus makes no direct mention of a temple of Jupiter Ammon at all. What he says is: *quippe si vetera templa respicias, hic ille colitur corniger praedo* (*V.O.A.P.* 2): "if you look around at the ancient temples, here is honoured that horned buccaneer". In view of the fact that such a temple would be unprecedented in the Latin west, is it not possible that Florus is rather alluding to the distinctly visible, horned masks of the god?[44] So striking a feature will certainly have given the impression that Jupiter Ammon was venerated at Tarraco. Florus' reference to *vetera templa* would be literally true if, in addition to the *clipei* hanging on the portico of the provincial temple, similar motifs were also displayed in association with one or more temples in the lower forum of Tarraco as at other ports (above, p. 15). Whether such a hypothesis is correct will have to await the confirmation of tangible remains; nothing in support has come to light as yet. In the meantime the existence of a temple of Jupiter Ammon anywhere at Tarraco looks on present evidence to be most unlikely.[45]

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[40] Chiarini (1976) 466, citing Aug., *RG* 31; Florus 2, 34; Suet., *Aug.* 21, 3; Eutropius 7, 10. For the famous embassy of the Mytileneans *ca.* 26 B.C., led by Potamon, see Alföldy in *RE* Suppl. 15 (1978) 596; Parker (1991) 117, dating the embassy to 25 B.C. See further Halfmann (1986) 15–29, 157–62.

[41] An obvious parallel is the statue of Marsyas, which evidently appears at some cities in the provinces simply in loyal imitation of the monument in Rome. For other implications of the statue see recently Hoskins-Walbank (1989).

[42] Contra Pociña–Remolà (2000) 27, cf. 35 with n. 60.

[43] The best general coverage is by Leclant–Clerq in *LIMC* 1, 671–80.

[44] Ruiz de Arbulo (1990) 131 arrives independently at a similar interpretation of Florus, *V.A.O.P.* 2, but without comment on the plural form *vetera templa.*

### c. Location of the temple

The portico hung with *clipei* of Jupiter Ammon will clearly have been associated with the temple of Divus Augustus. Aside from its physical characteristics (below, pp. 24–7), this structure is beset by two problems: location and date. As regards the site of the temple, we have seen that, while no elements have been found *in situ*, the building must have stood on the top terrace in the upper part of the precinct.[46] It may be noted immediately that a provincial imperial temple cannot be placed in the sector of Pescateria since this would put it outside the cult precinct enclosed by the portico.[47] Presumably the remains that came to light here (above, p. 7) originate from the adjoining section of the portico or some associated structure. As the archaeological record now stands, two possible locations can be envisaged.[48] On one scheme the temple will have been integrated with the portico as at the imperial temple in the sanctuary of Cigognier at Avenches (Vol. II, 1, Pl. CI).[49] In favour of this hypothesis is the existence of a large room situated in the centre of the portico along the rear wall of the precinct (Pls. 74–5). Only the left lateral wall is documented but, as we have seen, it was paved with marble and the large socle at the base of the side walls compares closely with the type usual in the internal decoration of temple *cellae*—for example, those of the temples of Venus Genetrix and

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[45] Contra Hill (1931) 47, following Schulten. For full discussion see Fishwick, Tarraco (1996) 165ff.

[46] Hänlein-Schäfer (1985) 233–4; TED'A, Foro (1989) 155–6; Abocador (1989) 438–9 with fig. 252; Dupré i Raventós (1990) 319–20 with Abb. 78, 325; Jiménez (1994) 248; *id.*, (1998) 113. The thesis that the octostyle temple shown in local coins of Tarraco might be the municipal rather than the provincial temple (Vol. III, 1, 44–6) has now been disproved by the latest excavations on the colonial forum. These clearly show that the lower forum was too small to have accomodated so large a temple. See Alföldy, *Exemplum* (2002) 183–4, citing Macias (2002) 90–1 with fig. 13 (= Pl. 146); Díaz–Macias (2000) with fig. 4. *Contra* Panzram (2002) 38, 123–4.

[47] Hänlein-Schäfer (1985) 234.

[48] TED'A, Foro (1989) 155–6; Abocador (1989) 438–9; Dupré i Raventós (1990) 319–20.

[49] Coarelli (1983) 110ff. at 119–20; Étienne (1985) 5–26.

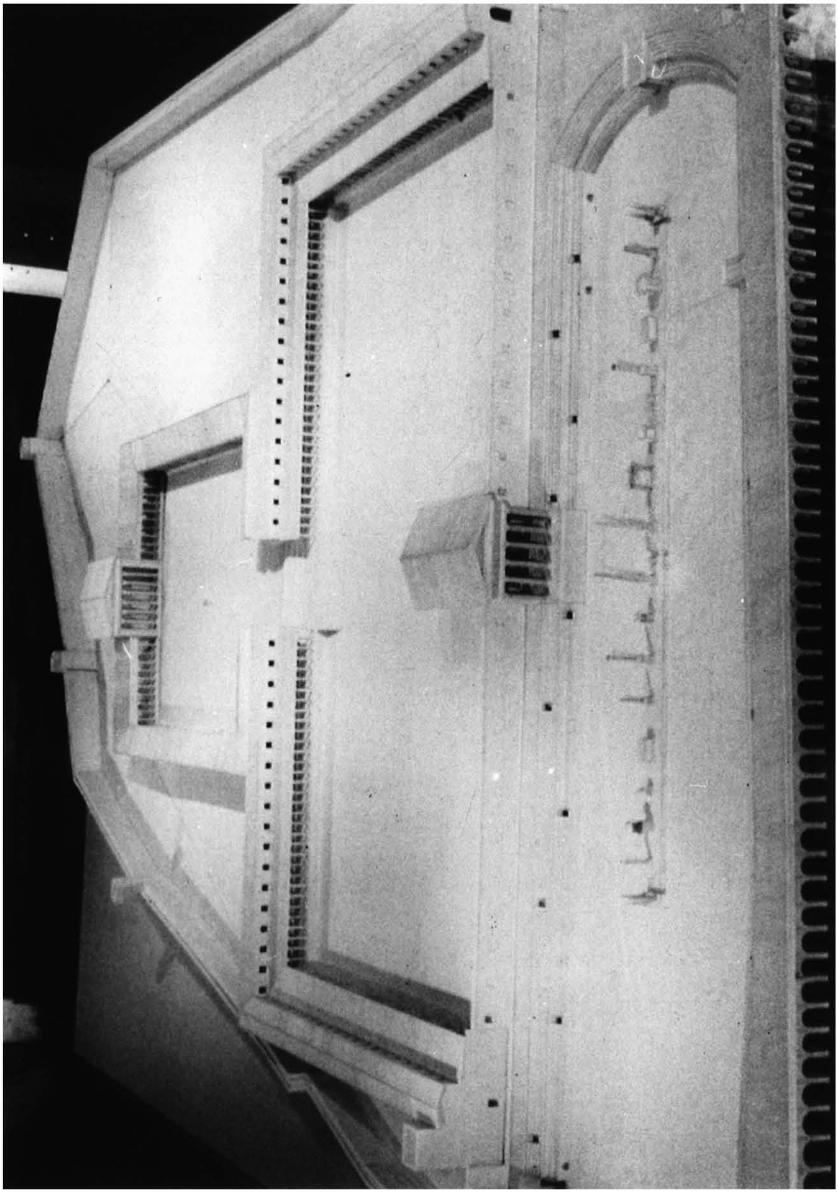

Plate 75. Model of provincial forum of Tarraco
according to proposed scheme of R. Mar.

Mars Ultor. The alternative view would be to suppose a free-standing structure extending into the centre of the precinct, which served as the *area sacra* (Vol. II, 1, Pl. CVIIa). In that case the room in the centre of the top portico might be conceived as the *curia* of the provincial council.[50] The existence of a large room in the portico in Π that surrounded the cult precinct can be paralleled at Bagacum Nerviorum and Augusta Treverorum—at Bavay in particular, where the temple has been hypothetically located in the centre of the precinct, below the actual cathedral, this room has been related, if again hypothetically, to the *curia*. Against this interpretation, however, P. Gros and M. Torelli argue convincingly that at both places the position of the room in the zone reserved for religious ceremonies excludes any possibility it functioned as a *curia*: the surviving portion rather suggests an *exedra* that might have played some role in the liturgy of the imperial cult.[51] A similar arrangement, a precinct with an axial room in the rear section of the surrounding portico, looks in any event to be associated with the *capitolium* of Clunia and the sanctuary of Vaugrenier, near Antibes.[52]

Regrettably, no information has come down on the construction of the cathedral at Tarraco which might support or invalidate the view that the site had at one time been occupied by a free-standing Roman temple. Some points are nevertheless clear. In the first place the strict separation of the two plazas at the Tarraco centre suggests that the upper precinct—at a higher elevation as on the scheme at Conimbriga, for example, and distinguished by the greater use of marble[53]—was specifically designed as a *temenos* for cult purposes, whereas the larger plaza immediately below provided a frameword for administrative activities such as those associated with the registry (*tabularium*), treasury (*arca*) and meeting hall (*curia*) of the province (below, pp. 33–4, 48–51). There is every reason to suppose, then, that the assembly room of the *concilium* will have stood on the middle terrace rather than the top. Secondly, a vertical line drawn from the centre of the room at the top back of the upper terrace would transverse the opposite side of the cult precinct, where a double stairway is believed to have provided access to the middle level, and would then continue directly to the centre of the south side of the middle plaza, exactly in the centre of what archaeological exploration has confirmed to be a curved, monumental flight of steps leading into the circus towards the tribunal (below, p. 35). R. Etienne has shown that at Avenches and elsewhere such an axial path will have been particularly suited for staging processions, and much the same situation has now been demonstrated by I. Piso at the sanctuary on the Pfaffenburg.[54] This consideration, which can hardly be sheer coincidence, surely reinforces the possibility that the chamber at the middle of the top portico is associated in some way with the provincial worship. If the temple stood at the centre of the precinct, one might suppose that the axial room was connected in some way with cult ritual—for example, as an rallying place for processions which could have been deployed along the porticoes, men and women dividing left or right.[55] On the other hand, if the structure was in fact the temple *cella*,[56] it is striking that the building will have projected outwards from the precinct, bringing it into proximity with the spot, north-east of the cathedral, where so many architectonic remains were recovered during work on the seminary (above, p. 9).

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[50] For the observation that the socle is analogous to the continuous bases found in rooms used as libraries, as for example in the Forum Traianum or at Ephesus, see TED'A, Foro (1989) 190–1, suggesting that the axial room at Tarraco might in that case be related to the provincial record-office (*tabularium*). The evident use of the middle rather than the upper terrace for administrative purposes tells against this hypothesis.

[51] Gros–Torelli (1988) 351–2 with fig. 202 (forum of Clunia); cf. 282 for a similar interpretation of the axial room at the top of the provincial precinct at Tarraco.

[52] On the interpretation of this type of arrangement see in general the wide-ranging discussion of Mar (1993) 125ff. with reference to comparable examples in the Greek East at Ephesus, Sardis and elsewhere.

[53] Alarcâo–Étienne (1977) 1, 85, 87–8, 111, 113.

Convincing arguments in favour of the latter interpretation have now been advanced by R. Mar, who demonstrates that the axial room is out of alignment with the columns of the portico and occupies a space differentiated from the plaza and conceivably accessed by a door.[57] It seems clear that in front of the central chamber the columniation changes rhythm with a facade of columns of greater size than those of the flanking porticoes, the two orders being integrated much as at the temple of the imperial cult at Aventicum. Significantly, the *cella* of the Aventicum temple compares closely in size and proportions with the axial room at Tarraco, while at both centres porticoes enclose the precinct; those at Aventicum rise 2.5 cms above the level of the *temenos* which is traversed by a processional way that incorporates an altar(?) and leads beyond the precinct to a theatre. A further possibility is that gardens may have eventually occupied unpaved areas just as at Rome the large colonnaded plaza before the Temple of Pax or the Temple of Divus Claudius was evidently the site of a *lucus sacer*; the presence of an aqueduct points strongly in this direction at Tarraco. In any event the case for taking the room at the centre rear of the Tarraco precinct to be a *cella* on the plan of the Flavian Templum Pacis looks increasingly strong,[58] though the final word naturally rests with future archaeological exploration that might confirm the full depth of the structure and the existence or non-existence of a supporting *podium* (Pl. 75).

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[54] Étienne (1985) 15; Piso (1991) 165ff. with Abb. 1. For the inaugural *pompa* to the circus see Ruiz de Arbulo (1993) 102, n. 39.

[55] Étienne, *loc. cit.*; cf. Vol. II, 1, 560.

[56] *Contra* Hänlein-Schäfer (1985) 233–4, suggesting the building is small to have served as a *cella*. But see TED'A, Foro (1989) 155, 190–1; Abocador (1989) 438–9.

[57] Mar (1993) 120–8 with refs., tracing the origins of axial rooms at the back of colonnaded enclosures to the Hellenistic period. See now the useful overview of Ruiz de Arbulo (1998) 50–1 with fig. 4 ; cf. Jiménez (1998) 13.

### d. Chronology of the temple

The difficulty in identifying the precise location of the "Temple of Augustus" raises in turn the central question of *when* it was constructed. We have seen that an octostyle temple is portrayed on coins issued at Tarraco under Tiberius, yet nothing in the sources reveals how soon work actually began on the project. Until recent years the monumental complex on the upper terrace was dated to the second quarter of the first century A.D., mainly on the basis of material excavated by J. Sánchez Real in the garden of the cathedral cloister in 1955 and analysed by Chr. Rüger.[59] Th. Hauschild in particular put the beginning of construction before A.D. 41, noting that a coin of this year was found in the lowest level.[60] Further excavations undertaken by X. Aquilué in 1984 and 1986 at a site in Calle Sant Llorenç just outside the cult precinct, along with a revised analysis of related pottery finds—in particular the material recovered by Sánchez Real—have now led the Taller Escola d'Arqueologia de Tarragona (TED'A) to argue in favour of a significantly later date at the beginning of the Flavian period.[61] Construction of the provincial complex should in their view be rather assigned to the years 69–70 A.D., a date that coincides with the beginning of epigraphical evidence from the middle terrace. The temple which dominated the cult precinct will then have been constructed contemporaneously with the project as a whole. A slight variation of this hypothesis would connect the complex with Vespasian's grant of *ius Latii* to all the towns of Spain in A.D. 71–2 (Pliny, *NH* 3, 30).[62]

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[58] For a helpful diagram see recently Gros (2001) 120.

[59] Sánchez Real (1969); Rüger (1968); Koppel (1990) 339 with n. 70 and refs.; Mar (1993) 111ff.

[60] *Id.* (1972–74) 40–1. This hardly provides a firm *terminus ante*, as a coin in circulation could have been dropped at any time after it was minted.

[61] TED'A, Foro (1989) 157–60; Dupré i Raventós (1990) 322–3, 324 with refs.; Dupré–Carreté *et al.* (1993) 115. For a chart of more recent archaeological excavations within the provincial centre see TED'A, Abocador (1989) fig. 8 (facing p. 38). See further Koppel, *loc. cit.* and below, pp. 24–5; Aquilué (1993) 79ff., 190ff.; Pensabene

Any reconstruction along these lines looks open to question on several scores. In the first place is it reasonable to suppose that building will have been deferred more than fifty years following the successful mission of the Spaniards in 15 A.D.—especially in light of Tacitus' affirmation that the temple served as an example to all the provinces? Secondly, the temple can hardly have been erected in the space of two years. The comparative data we have to go on are mostly from Rome, where architects, masons and especially funding will certainly have been more available than at Tarraco, but even here two years looks too short a time.[63] The temple of Divus Iulius, for example, is shown in its projected form on a coin of 36 B.C. and must have been finished or near completion by the date of its dedication on 18th August, 29 B.C.[64] Presumably construction was already under way in 36 though how soon work began after the decision taken by the triumvirs in 42 B.C. we do not know. Similarly five or six years may have been the time taken to construct the temple of Apollo vowed in 36 B.C. and dedicated on 9th October, 28 B.C.[65] A shorter time might be supposed in the case of the temple of Jupiter Tonans, which was vowed by Augustus during his compaign against the Cantabri in 26 B.C. and consecrated on 1st September, 22 B.C.[66] If construction began only on Augustus' return about the middle of 24 B.C., as P. Gros suggests, work would have lasted from twenty-six to thirty months. On the other hand, nothing excludes the possibility that the project began earlier—Augustus

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(1993) 100–1; Ruiz de Arbulo (1993) 98ff., noting the enormous costs of the project. For a helpful summary with recent bibliography see Jiménez (1994) 247 with nn. 27–9; cf. Garriguet, Culto (1998) 52. Mar (1993) 111 takes both the project and its execution to be Flavian rather than the late materialization of a scheme conceived much earlier. See further Vol. III, 1, 43–52.

[62] Pensabene (1996) 198; Peña–Diaz (1996) 192–5.

[63] Gros (1976) 65–7; cf. Jiménez (1987) 43.

[64] *Inscrit* 13, 2, p. 497; Vol. I, 1, 152, n. 17 with refs.

[65] *Inscrit* 13, 2, p. 518–19.

[66] *Inscrit* 13, 2, *ibid.*; Nash (1961) 535–6; Richardson (1992) 226.

could simply have sent word to the senate from Tarraco, the temporary home of the imperial court. Despite the fact that the temple was one of the foremost of the regime, a structure of modest proportions is in any event suggested by the circumstance that it was built of solid marble (Pliny, *NH* 36, 50) and that Augustus could claim it served as a door-keeper to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (Suet., *Aug.* 91, cf. 29, 1). In contrast, the temple of Mars Ultor, vowed in 42 B.C., must have been under way by 15 B.C. yet was not dedicated until 2 B.C., when still incomplete;[67] so a good deal more than ten years were required for construction. Similarly the temple of Divus Augustus, built and financed by Tiberius and Livia, had advanced far enough to house works of art by the end of his reign but was not apparently completed until A.D. 37, when it was dedicated by Gaius. Some deliberate foot-dragging could enter into the picture here.[68] Again, under Vespasian five years were required to rebuild the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, while the temple of Roma amd Venus took nearly ten years to complete under Hadrian.[69] Further afield the Hellenistic temple of Apollo of Claros may have taken more than a hundred years to reach its final shape, while the great temple of Heliopolitan Jupiter at Baalbek was probably under construction from the reign of Augustus to that of Vespasian and its vast *temenos*, which was begun in the first century, not completed until the second quarter of the second.[70] That the temple at Tarraco could have been built in two years may therefore be doubted. A crucial factor to be weighed in this instance is the cost of construction, which presumably was born by the provincials. The likeliest scenario, one would think, is that the pace of building will have been geared to financial resources and that it will have taken time for funds to accrue. But even if (hypothetically) income was saved (in the provincial *arca*?) until sufficent to support costs, it is impossible to believe that the temple could have been built *in toto* in A.D. 69–70.[71]

Iconographic, archaeological and numismatic considerations give further pause. Whereas earlier scholars followed García y Bellido in attributing the *clipei* globally to the late Julio-Claudian or Flavian era,

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[67] Weinstock (1971) 128ff.; Gros (1976) 66–7; Richardson (1992) 160–2.

[68] Fishwick, Temple of Divus Augustus (1992) 233, 245.

[69] Vol. I, 2, 197 with nn. 11–12, 16.

[70] *PECS* 226 (Robert); further de La Genière (1992). On the Baalbek site see *PECS* 380–2 (Rey-Coquais); Gros, Architecture (1996) 190–1.

[71] Ruiz de Arbulo (1998) 48, more realistically states: "En apenas veinte años, se lavantó en lo alto de la colina tarraconense un enorme complejo ceremonial … "

E. M. Koppel has recently proposed a significantly lower dating in some cases on the grounds of stylistic differences, especially in the varying treatment of the horns of Jupiter Ammon.[72] Since comparison with *clipei* at other sites is too problematical, she bases her analysis on surviving sculptures elsewhere that can be dated with relative precision—in the main portraits of Agrippina Maior now in the Louvre or the Museo Capitolino. However, another mask of Jupiter Ammon, though based on the same prototype, can be attributed to a later period on the basis of a whole series of differences in execution, for example the treatment of the hair. P. Pensabene, in contrast, attributes the two heads of Jupiter Ammon to the third quarter of the first century, if not specifically the beginning of the Flavian era, ascribing differences in execution to the work of different shops. Yet the fragments of the head of Medusa he takes to be generally Julio-Claudian.[73] The circumstance that one or more of the *clipei*[74] might be datable to an earlier period creates a difficulty in that it conflicts with the hypothesis by which the entire construction of the cult precinct was concentrated into a short span of years at the beginning of Vespasian's reign. Whether disparities reflect different chronological periods or the imprint of different contemporary hands is clearly very debatable. The problem is naturally put in a different light if work on the temple and porticoes extended over a much longer span of years—say from Tiberius to Vespasian (see further below, pp. 28–30).[75]

Much the same difficulty arises over the few fragments of capitals, all in marble from Luni, that have been recovered from the zone of the Plaza de Rovellat / Plaza del Forum and the area of the Cathedral. J. Gimeno assigns a group from the Plaza del Forum to the Julio-Claudian period and argues that they appertain to a structure begun about this time in response to the permission which had been granted the Spanish embassy of A.D. 15.[76] The view would fit the concept of long-term construction, but it is difficult to see that these could be vestiges of the edifice projected on the Tarraco coins (above, p. 6). Such an Augusteum, as Gimeno terms the complex, would then be aligned to the east side of the upper terrace, in which case its relationship to the great plaza below becomes problematical. P. Pensabene rather takes the remains from both zones to belong to similar capitals divisible into two principal groups according to size and attributable to the temple facade and portico respectively; on the basis of stylistic and typological criteria he assigns these to the third quarter of the first century, in some cases specifically to the years A.D. 60–70. In addition he puts one large Corinthian capital of uncertain provenance securely in the late Augustan/Tiberian period (A.D. 10–30) and three others under Hadrian.[77] The reconstructed entablature, in particular the detail of the frieze, is dated to A.D. 50–75, with one section that shows volutes of acanthus attributed to the Julio-Claudian era rather than later.

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[72] Garcia y Bellido (1949) 414–16; Koppel (1990) 336ff. with n. 52, noting that Verzàr (1977) 46, concluded in favour of the Julio-Claudian period on the grounds that the temple was "consacré" at the beginning of Tiberius' reign.

[73] Pensabene (1993) 95.

[74] Koppel (1990) 339 with n. 72, noting the head of a bearded deity (cf. above, p. 16) in addition to the mask of Medusa and one of the *clipei* with the head of Jupiter Ammon.

[75] On the question of workmanship see now Pensabene (1996) 201–3, proposing that teams of workmen directly connected with Rome and perhaps originating from there will have worked on the temple at Tarraco. He similarly proposes that workmen from Italy will have been present in the provincial forum under Hadrian; cf. Ruiz de Arbulo (1998) 53.

The difficulties in dating iconographic fragments outside a secure archaeological context are obvious but it may noted that the reconstructions of neither Mar nor the TED'A take account of these earlier architectonic elements in attributing all buildings on the upper terrace—temple, porticoes and precinct—to the reign of Vespasian. Pensabene himself accepts that the archaeological data exclude any possibility of a temple in the upper part of the city before the Flavian era, yet his analysis along with that of Koppel and of Gimeno would be consistent with long-term construction beginning at some stage in the reign of Tiberius and proceding slowly—perhaps even stalled on one or more occasions for lack of funds to continue an overambitious project[78]—down to completion under Vespasian. The iconography of the entablature, in particular the details of the frieze with its bucrania, swags of oak branches and priestly paraphernalia, all of which Pensabene assigns to the Julio-Claudian / early Flavian period (A.D. 50–75), surely belong to a phase when work on the temple had long been under way.[79] Conversely, if work on the temple did not even begin until *ca.* A.D. 70, the artistic period of these iconographic elements would become incompatible with a frieze which must in that case date from well into Domitian's reign. Subsequent repairs under Hadrian, as reported in *SHA*, *Hadr.* 12, 3, and very possibly documented by an inscription (*RIT* 264),[80] would then be reflected in two capitals attributed to the Hadrianic period. Finally it should be stressed that, slight as it is, there is definite archaeological evidence which could support the hypothesis that construction on the upper terrace began earlier than A.D. 69–70. That the project was initiated before the provincial forum looks to be indicated by a trench cut into the rock at different parts of the *area sacra* but left incomplete and later backfilled at the time of the Flavian programme on the middle terrace.[81]

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[76] Gimeno (1991), cf. *id.* (1994) 68–9; Jiménez (1998) 13.

[77] Pensabene (1993) 33–7, 101–2. For a helpful summary see now *id.* (1996) 199–201; Jiménez (1998) 13. On the Corinthian capital of Tiberian date see Pensabene (1996) 198, 200, citing Recasens i Carreras (1979) n. 35, fig. 32.

[78] For costly, long-term building projects that were still unfinished, eventually abandoned, or even demolished see Price–Trell (1977) 11–12, citing Pliny, *Ep.* 10, nos. 37, 38, 39, 40. Provincial funding for a project at Tarraco may have posed problems before construction in the upper city entered a new phase *ca.* A.D. 70.

Lastly the coins. These have sometimes been taken to attest a temple already in existence in A.D. 15 following the successful embassy of the Spaniards in that year, an impossibly short time for construction.[82] New evidence that work on the uppermost level was not complete until the Flavian period together with discrepancies in the way the temple is represented surely confirm that the coins simply commemorate the fact that permission to build a temple had been granted and show an artist's conception of what the *future* temple might look like.[83] The fact that the structure cannot yet have been in existence looks also reflected in the figure shown on the reverses. As is clear from the differing poses, the engraver has reproduced with some variations the representation of the emperor as enthroned Jupiter (below, Pls. 138–9).[84] In one posture the emperor sits in majestic semi-nudity with mantle spread across the knees, then carried up to the torso, his right or left leg extended and a lance in either hand when not omitted entirely. In another, best known from the cult statue in the temple of Roma and Augustus at Caesarea (Jos., *BJ* 1, 414), which is itself based on Phidias' statue of Zeus at Olympia, the emperor sits with naked upper torso holding in his outstretched right hand a Victory perched on a globe. A variant issue shows him seated on a curule chair holding a patera. The fact that the figure of Divus Augustus borrows from these various poses suggests that the obverses evoke the *future* cult statue, just as the reverses show the *projected* temple. The most significant feature of the coins for present purposes, however, is that they portray an octostyle temple. As the assorted architectonic vestiges recovered at Corduba now confirm, the architectural complex on the local *forum adiectum* was modelled on the Forum Augustum, so centred on a replica of the temple of Mars Ultor (below, pp. 80–3). Everything suggests that the same will have been true of the parallel scheme at Tarraco or Emerita, in which case the local coins of Tarraco portray a projected temple that was intended to imitate the Mars Ultor temple. It follows that the *design* of the complex on the upper terrace of the provincial centre at Tarraco must be Tiberian—with obvious implications for the chronology argued above.[85]

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[79] Pensabene (1993) 83–7; Mar (1993) 132–6.

[80] Vol. III, 1, 186–8; cf. Pensabene, *o.c.* 102.

[81] TED'A, Foro (1989) 157; Abocador (1989) 439.

[82] Beltrán (1953) 61–3 dates the coins to A.D. 15–16 "con absoluta seguridad" on the grounds that they celebrate the erection of the temple authorized by Tiberius. Hill (1931) 48, takes the coins to have been struck under Tiberius at the time of the erection of the temple he had authorized in A.D. 15.

[83] Vol. I, 1, 152, n. 17, followed by TED'A, Foro (1989) 156; cf. *eid.*, Abocador (1989) 439. In the same way the strange attribution of the temple to Aeternitas Augusta, which was copied at Emerita (below, p. 41), and the legend *deo Augusto* suggest an early period before uncertainties surounding the formula appropriate to the first emperor had been resolved and the cult of Divus Augustus had settled down; cf. Vol. I, 1, 151–2. That the temple of Aeternitas Augusta and the temple mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* 1, 78) could be different structures seems most unlikely. For one thing, if the latter is the municipal temple (cf. Vol. III, 1, 45) and the provincial temple was built under Vespasian, as current opinion holds (above, pp. 22–3), the temple on the coins would be a projected, second municipal structure, an unprecedented and ruinously expensive duplication. For another, if the embassy of the Spaniards concerned a provincial temple (as argued above)—whether begun under Tiberius or not until the Flavian period—the temple on the coins would then be colonial. In that case we would have a projected, octostyle municipal temple of Aeternitas Augusta, no parallel for which exists anywhere in the Roman empire. These objections hold even if such a temple was never actually built. It might be added that there is no trace of Aeternitas Augusta in the epigraphy of Tarraco

The pivotal difficulty obviously remains the conflict between these considerations and the stratigraphic material recovered by excavations

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and that the abstraction does not otherwise appear on coins before the Flavian period: *LIMC* 1, 244–9, omitting the Tarraco amd Emerita issues from discussion (Belloni). See now above, p. 18, n. 46.

[84] *RPC* 104, nos. 222, 224, cf. 221, 223: Plate 16. See in general Fishwick, Temple of Divus Augustus (1992) 232–55 at 245 with refs,; *id.* Coinage (1999) 103, 105; Panzram (2002) 34.

[85] See Fishwick, Forum (2000) 102–3, noting further that the parallel scheme at Emerita and Corduba raises the unanswerable question of whether a colossal statue group of Aeneas, Anchises and Ascanius once adorned the upper complex at Tarraco, conceivably with a complementary inscription. Equally, did figures of the *summi viri*, perhaps with likenesses of the imperial family, run along the portico in niches as apparently at Corduba and inferentially at Emerita? If they did, no trace has survived. In the same way the statues of provincial priests which stood on the middle terrace are known only from their bases (Vol. III, 2, 75–82).

in the cloister garden and the Calle Sant Llorenç (above, p. 22).[86] This is a restricted range of data on which to base sweeping conclusions but on the analysis of the TED'A a single stratum is to be identified at both sites, where the presence of pottery which cannot be earlier than A.D. 69 establishes a firm date at the beginning of the Flavian period. As the remnants analyzed come from the fill used to support the paving—including marble splinters and fragments of stone from the construction and carving of elements in the cult precinct, as well as pottery dating from the early Flavian back to the Julio-Claudian period—it follows that the precinct can hardly have been paved before A.D 69–70. That phase of the work is therefore Flavian and hence contemporaneous with construction of the forum on the middle terrace (below, pp. 30–1). But this circumstance hardly excludes the possibility that work on the temple itself had long been in progress. If integrated within the top portion of the portico, the building will have lain well away from the sites excavated, so its date is hardly determinable from pottery fragments in the fill of the precinct. For the *temenos* to have been levelled and paved at a late stage, when construction of the temple was well advanced,[87] would make good sense: the fragments of marble and stone could very well be debris from work that had been in progress over many years. It might be added that, while the presence of a Claudian coin in the fill below the paving (above, p. 22) does not establish an absolute date in itself, it is nevertheless easier to think this was lost soon after its issue than to suppose that a coin which had been in circulation some twenty-eight years was accidentally dropped in *ca.* A.D. 69. In the former case it could very well indicate the presence of workmen and be roughly contemporaneous with early construction in the precinct. Though in no way decisive, the fact that the temple needed repairs by A.D. 121–2 (above, p. 26) might also point to a building more than fifty years or so old. Whatever the correct interpretation happens to be, it is difficult to think that the stratigraphic data categorically rule out long-term construction of the temple.[88] The final word naturally rests with archaeological exploration of the *cella*, once this is identified definitively.[89] In any event, if one can judge from the content of the cult as recorded in the titles of provincial priests, then Roma, the living emperor and the deified *Augusti* will have been included in the dedication of the temple, whereas if work began under, say, Tiberius, it was presumably "constituted" to Divus Augustus alone, as the legends of the coins suggest.[90] Expansion of the cult the temple served would appear to pose no ritual problem.

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[86] Mar (1993) 112–13 cautions that only the material identified by Aquilué at the site of the Colegio de Arquitectos has actually been published. The data from the cloister garden have not been made public, nor have the strata associated with the monumental complex on the middle terrace so far produced material bearing on the date of construction.

[87] Mar, *o.c.* 137ff., follows Pensabene (1993) 33–7, 101–2, in taking the composite capitals attributed to the portico to date from the second half of the first century, probably the Flavian era.

In the meantime it may be noted that precedent for the suggested evolution of the temple precinct is provided by the circumstance that the temple of Venus Genetrix was dedicated on 26 September, 46 B.C., when construction was not quite finished, yet the Forum Iulium of which it was an organic part was not completed until the reign of Augustus (*RG* 20, 3).[91] More pertinently perhaps, the temple of Divus Claudius at Camulodunum was evidently built first and only following its re-building and completion was the associated precinct marked out—first by temporary structures, then by permanent masonry buildings in the last two decades of the first century (below, pp. 138–40).

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[88] For a convenient summary of the data see Dupré i Raventós (1990) 322–3, 324 with refs. He kindly writes: "Los numeros datos estratigráficos obtenidos en los últimos años permiten afirmar que el inicio de la construcción del gran proyecto arquitectónico destinado a ser la sede del *Concilium provinciae Hispaniae citerioris* tiene que fecharse en época de Vespasiano y no antes. Los materiales cerámicos que dan dich fecha se hallan, no sole en estratos por debajo de la pavimentación de las plazas sinó también en los niveles inferiores de los grandes movimientos de tierra necesarios par la adecuacion urbanística de la zona". Even so, this would still appear to leave open the possibility that large-scale movement of terrain accompanied construction of the precinct at a time when the temple was already well advanced. In that case the precinct itself would belong to the Flavian period, as would completion of the provincial temple. For the possibility of a broadly similar development at the theatre of Tarraco see below, n. 122.

[89] Precisely such soundings in the fill of the foundation below the *cella* of the temple in the Calle Marcelo Claudio at Córduba have now lowered the date when building began to the Julio-Claudian period; how long it took to complete the structure with its plaza and surrounding portico is unknown (below, pp. 94–6). Levelling of the ground and completion of the Tarraco *temenos* at a later stage is easier to conceive if the temple was eventually integrated with the portico, as now argued by Mar (above, pp. 21–2).

[90] For the "constitution" of a temple, the ceremony which determined its affiliation, see Vol. I, 2, 210–12.

[91] See recently Ulrich (1993) with list of temples (p. 69), some of which may likewise have not have been fully completed when dedicated.

### ii. *The Provincial Plaza and the Circus*

Whereas the cult precinct is slightly over 2 hectares in extent, the middle terrace is more than double the size with a surface area of just over 5.5 hectares (175 × 318m).[92] This is now known to have been the site of the provincial plaza, a feature of the enclave which has become much better known over the past few years.[93] It seems clear that the central court—at 151 by 266m exactly double the area of the cult precinct—was enclosed on three sides by a double portico which may have extended to the fourth side bordering the circus, not that this is so far documented by the archaeological record. On the smaller, lateral sides ran a first portico 14m deep, standing slightly above the level of the plaza, and behind this a covered crypto-portico of 12m, on top of which rose a second portico of 12m. Along the longer side bordering the upper cult precinct stood a portico of 14m, a continuation of the lateral porticoes, and a crypto-portico of 10m supporting an upper portico that connected with both the upper lateral porticoes of the middle terrace and the extremities of the porticoes of the cult precinct. To this picture can be added pilasters that certainly decorated the back wall of the portico of the provincial plaza since three examples were found *in situ*, also a system of doors and windows in various parts. Two rectangular towers (29 by 12m), known today as the Antiga Audiència and the Pretori or Torre de Pilatos, were situated at either extremity of the south-west side of the central plaza, where they gave access by stairs to and from the Circus. Nearby entrances look to have stood on what are now the Plaza Pallol and the Plaza del Rei. In line with the north-east, south-west axis of the complex as a whole, the south-west side of the forum was divided by a curved, monumental flight of steps which communicated between the central part of the circus

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[92] On the background to the architectonic model of the Tarraco enclave see Ruiz de Arbulo (1998) 55. For the fact that the plaza is the largest in the Roman empire see Alföldy, *Exemplem* (2002) 193 wtih n. 59.

[93] Hauschild, Tarraco (1976) 217, cf. 2, 262–3; Hänlein-Schäfer (1985) 233–4; Jiménez (1987) 37, 41–5. For a detailed picture see Dupré–Carreté (1986–89) 290–9; TED'A, Foro (1989) 167–82, 187–91; Abocador (1989) 435–7, 441–6; Dupré i Raventós (1990) 320ff. A helpful summary is now provided by Dupré–Carreté *et al.* (1993) 9–11; Peña–Diaz (1996) 195ff.; Aquilué *et al.* (1999) 80–3. For recent archaeological interventions revealing new details of the overall design and construction see Peña (2000) 19–26 with fig. 1; Pociña–Remolà (2000) 30–45 with fig. 1, stressing unique features of the central plaza; Vilaseca i Canals–Diloli i Fons (2000) 47–52. See now Alföldy, Cultura epigráfica (2002) 71 with n. 86 and massive bibl.

(where probably was situated the box corresponding to the *pulvinar* in the Circus Maximus at Rome) and the "representation" plaza. Directly opposite, likewise situated on the axis but at a higher elevation, another central staircase on the north side of the central plaza looks to have communicated with the *area sacra* on the upper terrace by way of two flights of steps, *ca.* 30 m. wide, broken by a landing at the level of the portico; part of the lower section of this has recently been located.[94] Two smaller, lateral stairways connected the portico of this sector of the central plaza with the extremities of the cult precinct. In addition a newly identified tower at the south-west angle of the upper *temenos* looks to have provided access to the central court.[95]

The disposition of the middle terrace remains largely conjectural but it is likely that construction conformed with a pathway which followed the symmetrical axis of the complex, linking the circus directly with the temple. Such a processional way, comparable to that at Cigognier, would correspond strikingly to the *via triumphalis* supposed by Hernández in early reconstructions of the cult precinct (Pl. 72).[96] What seems at any rate confirmed by epigraphy is that on the central part of this plaza—where most of their pedestals were in fact found—will have stood (in rows?) the numerous statues that were dedicated by the province of Hither Spain (P.H.C.) and commemorated the services of past provincial priests, priestesses, and functionaries such as the archivist C. Valerius Arabinus.[97] The statues themselves have disappeared but their inscribed bases survive, at least thirty-three of them originating from the middle terrace, which can consequently be properly called a "representation" plaza.[98] While all are of the same material and size, it is notable that none are earlier than the reign of Vespasian.[99] What the epigraphical record reveals, however, is that the provincial council also erected statues to other deserving individuals who were not past provincial priests—ambassadors to the emperor (*RIT* 330–2), Roman senators who had served in the province (*RIT* 146; Vol. III, 2, Pl. 37), provincial patrons (*RIT* 284; Vol. III, 2, Pl. 31).[100] None of their monuments are said to have been set up *inter flaminales viros* but detailed study of the find spots points to erection within the sectors bordererering the prestigious centre of the terrace.[101] In other cases, where the dedicator was not the provincial council but, say, the husband of a provincial priestess (*RIT* 323: Vol. III, 2, Pl. 35; *RIT* 327) or the fellow citizens of a prominent knight (*RIT* 374), the *concilium* authorized erection of a statue or granted a site in the same areas. Here too the *cives Tarraconenses* set up a statue to a provincial *flaminica* (*RIT* 320) and there are several further instances where outsiders, an individual's *respublica* (*RIT* 254: Vol. III, 2, Pl. 44; *RIT* 259, 264) or his heirs (*RIT* 312; Vol. III, 2, Pl. 33), have erected statues to provincial priests alongside the central section.[102] Statues were likewise set up privately to individuals of senatorial rank (*RIT* 127, 136, 144), so the middle terrace as a whole was a location appropriate to persons of rank and distinction. If from a legal standpoint the region remained within the jurisidiction of the city, the

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[94] Peña (2000) 20–1, 23.

[95] For the vestiges now recognized in the so-called Casa Grases at the angle of Calle Misser Nogués and Calle Escrivanies Velles see Peña–Diaz (1996) 199ff. with fig. 2.

[96] Etienne (1985) 15, 18–19 with fig. 15; TED'A, Foro (1989) 147 with fig. 3; *eid.*, Abocador (1989) 32 with fig. 7 (p. 35); Pociña–Remolà (2000) 35.

[97] Cf. *RIT* 333: *C(aio) Val(erio) Arabino | Flaviani f(ilio) Bergido F(laviensi), | omnib(us) hon(oribus) in re p(ublica) | sua func(to), sacerdoti | Romae et Augusti, p(rovincia) H(ispania) C(iterior). | Ob curam tabulari | censualis fideliter | administr(atam) statuam | inter flaminales | viros positam ex|ornand⟨a⟩m univers(i) | censuer(unt).* For the suggestion that the statues may have been associated with a grove see Aquilué *et al.* (1999) 82. See now Alföldy, Cultura epigráfica (2002) 71, n. 85, recording a new trace (*HEp* 6, 1996, 898). See further Vol. III, 4, Addenda.

[98] Another seven or eight pedestals occur on the uppermost level, to which they may have been transferred from below. See Alföldy (1973) 4–10; *RE* Suppl. 15 (1978) 597, 604, 619 with refs. See further *id.* (1979) 186–7, 213ff.; (1991) 60–1; Hänlein-Schäfer (1985) 233–4; Vol. I, 2, 277; Ruiz de Arbulo (1990) 120, 134; *id.* (1998) 51–2, 57. Past

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provincial priests look to have been honoured in accordance with regulations similar to those set out in the *Lex de flamonio provinciae Narbonensis*; cf. Vol. III, 2, 82–5.

[99] On the pre-Flavian technique of attaching thin, inscribed plaques to the bases of statues at Tarraco as at Rome see now Alföldy, Cultura epigráfica (2002) 63 with n. 18, 65; cf. *RIT* 1–2, 58, 66–8, 173, 337, 362 with p. 473. The fragility of these plagues goes far to explaining the absence of Julio-Claudian records of provincial priests of Hispania citerior; cf. Vol. III, 1, 53. Alföldy, *o.c.* 69–70, notes that at Tarraco 93% of the entire epigraphic documentation is posterior to the year of the four emperors, from which time honorific texts were inscribed directly onto the pedestals of statues. I am indebted to the author for a copy of his paper.

[100] Ruiz de Arbulo (1990) 134–5 with n. 123. But *RIT* 156 is the re-used inscribed pedestal of a statue to a provincial patron set up by the *ordo Tarrac(onensium)* and found in the early-Christian necropolis.

[101] See in detail the locations meticulously plotted by Alföldy, *RIT* Tafeln, Plan 3. *RIT* 284 orginates from the *temenos* on the upper level.

[102] The inscriptions make no mention of the council in these instances but see Alföldy in *RE* Suppl. 15 (1978) 605, arguing that its permission was a prerequisite. The possibility cannot of course be excluded that the council did in fact give permission, which the inscription simply fails to mention. In the case of *RIT* 320 the picture is clouded by the fact the pedestal comes from the temple precinct on the uppermost terrace. See in general Fishwick, Fiction (1995) 173; Ruiz de Arbulo (1998) 51–2.

province must on Alföldy's view have been given control over its use.[103]

As for the administrative side of the provincial centre, inscriptions record officials attached to the provincial registry (*tabularium)*, where records of the census were kept (*RIT* 40, 50, 242–4), and the provincial treasury (*arca)*, which evidently drew revenues from a five per cent tax on inheritances and manumissions (*RIT* 235, cf. 231, 234–40).[104] That their headquarters were situated on the middle terrace looks a possible hypothesis,[105] especially in light of the statue erected by unanimous decision of the council to C. Valerius Arabinus (above p. 32) in recognition of his outstanding services *ob curam tabulari censualis fideliter administr(atam)*. His activities in connection with the census must have been of interest to the *concilium*, conceivably in regard to the appropriate financial contributions of communities represented by *legati*, though there is no trace in Hither Spain of any payment comparable to the *stips annua* of the Three Gauls. No archaeological remains have come to light but an epigraphical trace is preserved of the headquarters of the governor of Hispania citerior (*praetorium consulare*: *RIT* 34), perhaps to be identified with the Torre de Pilatos at the south-east end of the central terrace. It would appear then that, whereas the upper plateau was the site of the provincial temple, designedly set at a higher elevation, the level below housed administrative bureaux of the province. This would explain in turn why, in addition to the statues of *viri flamines*, monuments to Roman administrators or members of the provincial aristocracy could stand on the central forum just as statues of provincial governors could be erected in the temple *temenos*. Such a combination of civil with religious organs of the province is markedly different from what one finds at the federal sanctuary of the Three Gauls.

A key question is where exactly will have been situated the meeting hall of the provincial *concilium*. The existence of such a *curia* looks to be attested by inscriptions which apparently refer to the seats of delegates (*RIT* 250a-b, 251) but there seems to be no direct archaeological evidence on which one can call.[106] Even so, the strict separation of the plaza from the cult precinct strongly suggests that the assembly hall, perhaps along with the *arca* and the *tabularium*, will have stood in the vicinity of the growing forrest of honorific statues on the middle terrace. The sheer concentration of inscriptions stamps the zone firmly as the permanent headquarters of the provincial council. Analogy supports the use of 'forum' as the appropriate terminology for this middle terrace, though J. Ruiz de Arbulo has recently argued that three inscriptions which originate from the provincial enclave and happen to attest the term were probably moved there from their original site in the lower city (*RIT* 349, 353–4).[107] Otherwise such ornamental pieces as the great marble crater with the head of a satyr and of Silenus have been hypothetically linked with the existence of landscaped areas on the model of the Templum Pacis, the colonnaded enclosure adjoining the Temple of Pax at Rome (above, p. 21). Nearby fountains were evidently fed by an aqueduct which arrived at the portico in the north angle of the plaza, also by a large cistern below the paving at the west end of the same portico, the whole lay-out being serviced by drains.

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[103] I am indebted to G. Alföldy for an illuminating letter offering a developed picture. On epigraphical evidence from the middle terrace see now the overview of Panzram (2002) 50–6, 65, 84–1, 125.

[104] On the *vicesima hereditatium* see recently Saquete (1997) 69–70, 106 with reference to Baetica and Lusitania. On epigraphical evidence from the middle terrace see now the overview of Panzram (2002) 50–6, 65, 84–7, 125.

[105] TED'A, Foro (1989) 191; Peña–Diaz (1996) 198; Ruiz de Arbulo (1998) 55–6, suggesting that such legislative texts as the provincial *lex de flamonio*, parallel to the enactment found at Narbo, may have been exhibited on the central plaza. See in general Alföldy (2001) 29.

The bottom terrace of the complex was the site of the circus, the north section of which served to buttress the forum (Vol. II, 1, Pls. CVII, CVIII). This facility occupied a surface area of about 2.5 hektares and is today one of the best preserved in Spain, though large sections of the vaulted substructures remain buried beneath present-day streets and houses.[108] Its principal features have nevertheless been successfully disengaged.[109] Oriented roughly north-west to south-east, the arena was about 300m long by 68–80 wide, the external length of the building reaching *ca.* 340m with a width of 100 to 116m. This is because the two long sides of the circus diverged from the parallel, the south side opening up in the direction of the starting gates at the north-west end in order to align the provincial complex with the Via Augusta. Stone seats of varying size in different seating sections, along with a gallery which may have held wooden seating stands, could accommodate perhaps 23,000 or more spectators. A detailed review of the architectual features in comparison with circuses elsewhere lies outside the scope of the present discussion but it is worth repeating that direct access from the "representation" plaza was provided by stairs in the two towers west and east of the south side of the forum and above all by the central monumental stairway leading to the middle section of the circus. These features are of particular relevance since they establish beyond question that the principal function of the circus was to provide an arena for the entertainment associated with imperial festivals celebrated at the provincial centre. The possibility of processions leading directly along the axis of the forum from the temple in the cult precinct down to the circus on the bottom terrace remains to be considered in the wider context of cult ceremonial.[110]

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[106] The stones were actually found in the Castillo del Patriarca, in the lower right-hand angle of the cult precinct, not that this automatically locates the *curia* on the uppermost terrace: conceivably they were removed from the middle plateau like other stones: TED'A, Foro (1989) 190 with fig. 29; Alföldy (1973) 9. For the suggestion that at Tarraco the *concilium* might have met in the provincial temple just as the Roman senate convened on occasion at the temple of Mars Ultor see Ruiz de Arbulo (1998) 55–6, proposing other ceremonial uses of the provincial temple. See further Panzram (2002) 46, 55.

[107] Cf. Vol. III, 2, 75 with n. 12. Ruiz de Arbulo (1990) 135, notes that the honorific inscription to L. Numisius Montanus which was placed *in foro* by the testament of his sister Numisia Victorina (*RIT* 349) makes no mention of the provincial priesthood, so has no reason to be in the provincial enclave. Similarly two other stones with the identical text, likewise found in the upper city, refer to statues that Valeria Silvana set up at home to her husband L. Valerius Tempestivus (*RIT* 353–4); these were subsequently found by their heirs *in domo* and placed *in foro*. As there is no apparent reason for their presence in the provincial precinct, Ruiz de Arbulo takes them to have been originally placed in the lower municipal forum, from which they were removed at some later stage. G. Alföldy kindly writes that in his view the forum to which these texts refer can only be the great plaza on the middle terrace of the provincial centre.

What the general lay-out puts beyond question, therefore, is that two interconnecting precincts, the *area sacra* and the provincial plaza, were combined with the circus in an integrated whole which was linked with but separated from the municipal world of the *colonia*. While the division of the Tarraco complex into a cult precinct and a public plaza is related to the composite model of urban forums, its dimensions make it one of the largest of its kind in the Roman world, one that compares with the archetypal complex at Ancyra (above, pp. 3–4). As for which emperor should be credited with prompting this enormous project, recent archaeological exploration looks to have been settled in favour of Vespasian, though the origins of the plan must surely go back earlier.[111] We have seen that stratigraphic data suggest the cult precinct cannot have been paved before A.D. 69–70 and that it is reasonable to attribute to this general date the completion of a building programme in the area that may well have begun as early as the reign of Tiberius. Construction on the middle terrace, in contrast, looks to belong largely to the early Flavian period. Exploration of the Antiga Audiència, one of the access towers to the public plaza, has yielded pottery fragments dating to the third quarter of the first century A.D.[112] Further archaeological data from the other tower, the so-called Torre de Pilatos, in the form of indentations by masons on stone blocks, suggest that this structure too was erected under Vespasian. Again, excavations in the nearby Plaza del Rei, a section occupied in antiquity by one of the porticoes of the middle terrace, has yielded pottery fragments dating from the time of Tiberius to the Flavian period. It seems a reasonable inference, therefore, that construction on the "representation" plaza coincided with the completion of work in the cult precinct and should be assigned to the first decade or so of the Flavian epoch, though how long elapsed before everything was accomplished is debatable. Lastly, who paid for this enormously expensive undertaking is not recorded, but it can hardly be doubted that the provincial elite—senators, knights, members of the local *ordo decurionum* influential in the various *conventus* of Hither Spain—will have privately footed the bill, quite possibly at the instigation of the imperial authorities or the provincial governor.[113] The epigraphical evidence of provincial priests and priestesses drawn from about forty-five different *gentes* gives some idea of the affluent families that might have been involved in construction.

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[108] For a helpful synthesis of scholarship up to the time of publication see Humphrey (1986) 339–44. See subsequently Dupré i Raventós *et al.* (1988); Aquilué *et al.* (1999) 84–94; Ruiz de Arbulo (1993) 99; Jiménez (1998) 14; Panzram (2002) 45, 47.

[109] For new archaeological interventions revealing the distribution of entrances for spectators on the north side of the circus see now Piñol (2000) with figs. 1–2.

[110] Further to Vol. I, 2, 559–60 see now Pociña–Remolà (2000) 35 with fig. 30; below, pp. 270–1 with Pl. 147.

What seems at all events undisputed is that the enclave with its two plazas was finished before the circus. While the site of this may well have been reserved for races long before the Flavian period, the conjunction of pottery types recovered in the course of recent exploration strongly suggests that the structure dates from early in the reign of Domitian.[114] In that case the circus, at least in its present form, will be roughly contemporary with the amphitheatre (below). Thereafter the salient feature of the later history of the complex is that here as elsewhere in the West provincial ceremonies apparently ended with the death of Septimius Severus, at which point the statues of provincial priests disappear. This development is surely to be associated with the repercussions of the Severan victory, more particularly confiscation of the wealth of the class that had provided provincial *flamines* and unwisely supported Albinus (*SHA*, *Sev.* 12[115]). Old monuments are now carelessly re-used and by the fifth and sixth centuries the provincial precinct had become disfigured with the buildings of the new city and society of late antiquity. Eloquent testimony to the change is provided by a rubbish tip excavated in the lower right-hand angle of the provincial forum and dated to A.D. 440–540. The dump fills a cavity dug into the surface of the forum and starkly documents the demolition and transformation of the early imperial complex into a zone of habitation.[116]

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[111] Dupré i Raventós (1990) 321ff. with bibl.; Cortés (1987) 10.

[112] For analysis see Dupré–Carreté *et al.* (1993) 9–11.

[113] On financial aspects of the Tarraco complex see now the useful study of Pensabene (1996) 203–11; cf. Ruiz de Arbulo (1998) 53.

[114] Dupré i Raventós (1990) 323, 325, noting the presence of African Red Slip A1 in addition to Spanish and south-Gaulish *terra sigillata*; Piñol (2000) 54–5.

### iii. *The Amphitheatre and the Theatre*

In conclusion, attention should be drawn to the amphitheatre situated at a lower level than the provincial centre in the area of a cemetery some 200m to the south-east, outside the city walls (Vol. II, 1, Pl. CVI). This arrangement contrasts sharply with that at Lugdunum, for example, where the amphitheatre adjoined the altar and, in due course, the temple of the Three Gauls within the sanctuary at the confluence of the Rhone and Saône; the role of the amphitheatre here can for this reason be more closely compared with that of the circus at Tarraco. Even so, the close proximity of the Tarraco amphitheatre to the provincial forum strongly suggests that, like the circus, it will have been the scene of spectacles celebrating the high festivals of the imperial cult, at which the delegates of the provincial council, members of the city *ordo* and other dignitaries occupied reserved seats.[117] The circumstance that it also lies within easy walking distance raises once again the possibility of processions linking the amphitheatre with the imperial temple towering above. On the other hand, if the relation of the structure to the liturgy and ideology of the ruler cult looks secure, we have little or no idea of how it relates to the planning and physical construction of the provincial centre. Detailed discussion of the architectural details would be once again out of context,[118] but it is worth noting that its overall dimensions have been calculated at 109.50 by 86.50m, those of the arena itself at 61.50 by 38.50m, with a capacity of about 14,000 spectators. The central question of when it was constructed has long been a matter of contention. Whereas J.-C. Golvin has recently suggested the Julio-Claudian period on general grounds, M. Soriano Berges earlier attributed the present building to the late first century A.D. with a conjectural period of ten to thirty years for construction.[119] In that case the amphitheatre would be late Flavian in origin and so contemporary with the circus, a factor which would emphasize once more its link with the provincial complex. In retrospect this view now approximates closest to the facts since a recently discovered inscription, as interpreted by G. Alföldy, indicates that the amphitheatre was financed and dedicated in the Flavian-Trajanic/Hadrianic period by a provincial [*fla*]*men Rom*[*ae Divorum et Augustorum*] whose name is lost (*AE*, 1990, 653). The date is corroborated by stratigraphic soundings and pottery fragments that point to construction in the first half of the second century A.D.[120] In any event nothing excludes the possibility that games, like races, began to be given at an earlier date—perhaps already in the reign of Augustus, who had convalesced at Tarraco from 26–24 B.C.—especially in light of the role of the colony as the seat of the provincial governor.

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[115] See the helpful outline of Ruiz de Arbulo (1993) 105ff., comparing the different development at Lugdunum; cf. Vol. I, 2, 317–50. See further Ruiz de Arbulo (1998) 57.

[116] TED'A, Foro (1989) 191; Abocador (1989) 446–8; Aquilué (1993) 193ff.; Aquilué *et al.* (1999) 83, observing that an inscription to the emperors Leo and Anthemius (A.D. 467–72) suggests part of the enclave still retained its original function; Ruiz de Arbulo (1993) 112–13; Dupré i Raventós (1995) 365–6; Vilaseca i Canals–Diloli i Fons (2000) 49–50; Solé (2000) 95.

[117] Mayer–Massó (1990); Ruiz de Arbulo (1993) 101–2 with nn. 37–8.

Whether the theatre, situated on the east side of the colonial forum, played any role in the ceremonies of the provincial cult must remain uncertain,[121] though comparison with the theatre at Camulodunum in particular (below, p. 147) strongly suggests that this was the case. Stratigraphic sequences indicate a Flavian date but the style of its oldest capitals and the evidence of a group of imperial statues, dated by E. Koppel under Tiberius and Claudius and apparently originating from the *scaenae frons*, point to a much earlier period as does an Augustan(?) altar dedicated to the Numen Augusti (*RIT* 48; Vol. II, 1, Pl. LXXIV).[122] In any event it seems certain that about the middle of the second century the theatre was restored and underwent intensive refurbishing in marble, while at the same time the *scaenae frons* was fitted with three cuirassed representations of the Antonine family. The subsequent abandonment of the theatre as a public space at the end of the century coincides with the virtual disappearance of epigraphical traces at the provincial centre.[123]

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[118] See now the exhaustive treatment of TED'A (1990) 21–160, 173–89. For the renovation of the amphitheatre by Elagabalus, recorded by the largest known inscription of the entire Roman empire, see Alföldy, *Exemplum* (2002) 196 with n. 72; Panzram (2002) 87–9.

[119] Golvin (1988) 164–5; Hauschild, Tarraco (1976) 2, 261 (discussion); *RE* Suppl. 15 (1978) 608 (Alföldy).

[120] TED'A (1990) 196–203, outlining later modifications to the structure; Panzram (2002) 57. Alföldy (1990); on the amphitheatre see in general Ruiz de Arbulo, (1993) 100–1 with refs., 109–10; Dupré i Raventós (1995) 363–4 with figs. 6–7, showing the hypothetical location of *AE* (1991) no. 653 above one of the main accesses to the amphitheatre.; *id.* Anfiteatro (1994); Aquilué *et al.* (1999) 94–101.

[121] On the theatre see the helpful overview of Aquilué *et al.* (1999) 59–65. For the

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municipal forum see now Alföldy, Cultura epigráfica (2002) 64, n. 23; cf. Vol. III, 1, 45, n. 24.

[122] Koppel, Skulpturen (1985) 13–32. See in general Mar *et al.* (1993), suggesting that the discrepancy between the iconographic and stratigraphic evidence implies that construction began well before the Flavian period. If so, this would mirror the parallel development at the provincial centre argued above.

[123] On the evolution of the theatre see the overview of Panzram (2002) 39–41, 75, 91–2, 124.

CHAPTER TWO

# EMERITA

## i. *The Provincial Temple*

The colony of Emerita, *Colonia Iulia Augusta Emerita*, was the capital city of the province of Lusitania.[1] Its rank, like that of Tarraco, argues strongly therefore in favour of its probable role as the headquarters of the provincial cult and seat of the provincial council.[2] While there is no confirmation one can point to in the literary texts, evidence for the presence of such a centre has steadily accumulated over the years under various forms. Attention may be drawn in the first place to local coins, issued probably early under Tiberius, which show on the reverse a tetrastyle temple and the legend AETERNITATI AVGVSTAE with or without C(*olonia*) A(*ugusta*) E(*merita*), on the obverse the radiate head of Augustus and DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER (Vol. I, 1, Pl. XXXVI); in some cases the obverse bears the laureate head of Tiberius with TI. CAESAR AVG. PON. MAX. IMP. or variant.[3] Quite clearly these issues are patterned on the very similar local coins which were struck in the same period at Tarraco (above, pp. 5–7) and likewise represent a temple dedicated to Aeternitas Augusta.[4] The most significant difference between the two structures is that with four rather than eight columns the Emerita temple is noticeably simpler and less elaborate. Evidently the building followed in this respect the tradition

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[1] Trillmich (1990) 299, noting that Emerita was the most Augustan of all Spanish cities. See also in general Wiegels (1976); Étienne (1995); Saquete (1997) 65–7. On the foundation of the city in 25 B.C. and the initials *CIAE* see *id.*, 23ff., 85; Barrera (2000) 15–16 with nn. 4–6. Panzram (2002) 227–38, 310.

[2] Saquete (1997) 97–8, 137–45. On Tarraco as capital of Hispanic citerior since the Republican period see now Alföldy, Cultura epigráfica (2002) 67 with n. 58; Panzram (2002) 123.

[3] Vol. I, 1, 156, nn. 44–5 with refs. and Pl. XXXVI; Gil (1966) 441, 446, 468, 470; cf. Beltran (1953) 54–5; *id.* (1976) 93–105 at 97, 102–3; Pereira *et al.* (1976) 10, nos. 66, 72; *RPC* 72, no. 29 (Plate 3); 73, nos. 47–8 (Plate 4); Garriguet, Culto (1997) 46–7; Fishwick, Coinage (1999) 112–13; Panzram (2002) 239.

[4] Barrera (2000) 175 with nn. 17–19. For temples at Caesaraugusta and Carthago Nova shown on coins issued under Tiberius see Barrera, *o.c.* 176–7.

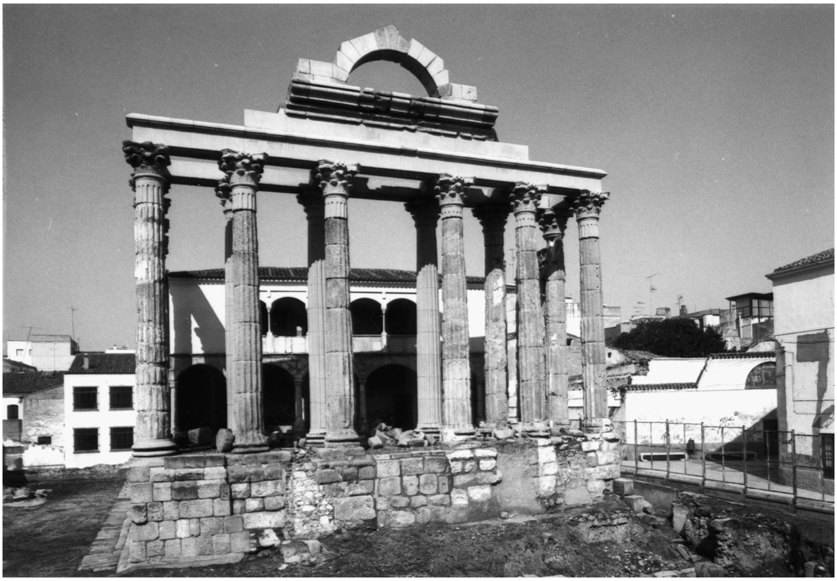

Plate 76. "Temple of Diana" at Mérida.

of the south and south-east Iberian peninsula, where similar temples occur in the Republican period at Gades, Abdera and Malaca, and a temple with four columns was dedicated to Juno at Ilica under Augustus; at Carthago Nova a tetrastyle temple was dedicated to Augustus, in all probability during his lifetime.[5] Otherwise the columns rising above a well-definded stylobate conform in supporting Corinthian (composite?) capitals, while salient *acroteria* at the angles of the roof again take the form of palms—very like the scraggy set that jutt from the altar of Providentia on coins of Emerita (Vol. I, 1, Pl. XXXVIIIa-b).[6] At the centre of the pediment is what on some issues looks like a star, on others a *phalera* or disk; conceivably this may have been intended to portray a *corona civica* as on the Tarraco temple (above, pp. 9, 12–13).

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[5] *RPC* 82, 86, 98, 96, nos. 94–5 (Plate 8), 124–6 (Plates 9–10), 192–3 (Plate 14), 176–7 (Plate 13). Gimeno (1994) 65–7 with Lám. III–IV, noting the link with Juba II of Mauretania, magistrate at Carthago Nova in A.D. 9, also his son Ptolemy, who was magisrate here in A.D. 14. For the similar temple of Augustus shown on coins of Juba issued A.D. 4–14 see Fishwick (1985).

[6] *RPC* 72–3, nos. 28, 34–6, 45–6 (Plates 2–4). For discussion see Vol. I, 1, 180–3, cf. 152, arguing that the Emerita coins refer to the altar of Providentia at Rome. *Contra* Nogales-Basarrate, Altar (2000) 31–6, taking the altar to have existed physically at Emerita, where it will have stood either in the provincial or, more likely, the municipal forum; cf. Panzram (2002) 245–6. For the view that the altar is analogous to the altar of Augustus at Tarraco see TED'A, Foro (1989) 186.

As for the key question of identity and attribution, the building can hardly be the municipal imperial temple, the so-called "Temple of Diana" erected on the town forum, since that was hexastyle and in all probability already under construction during the reign of Augustus (Pls. 76–7).[7] Any connection with a conjectural temple of Concordia Augusti that supposedly stood in the provincial precinct (below, pp. 47, 51) is also excluded by the legend on the exergue. Simply by process of elimination, therefore, the temple was most likely intended to serve the provincial cult of Divus Augustus, a function strongly supported by its attribution to Aeternitas Augusta. As we have seen at Tarraco, however, such a dedication has no parallel and is doubtless indicative once again of a very early stage in the evolution of the provincial worship, before the cult of Divus Augustus had become fully established.[8] There seems every reason to believe, then, that the Emerita coins will have imitated the Tarraco issues in portraying a projected provincial temple or one in the early stages of construction rather than a building already in cultic use. How far the completed structure will have resembled that shown on the coins remains at the present time uncertain, though there seems an increasing possibility that the temple could be the edifice now identified in the Calle Holguín, especially when this turns out to be tetrastyle (below, pp. 52–8, 61).

Wherever the temple stood, it is worth adding that the existence of a provincial temple is also deducible from two inscriptions that attest provincial priests of Lusitania. The first of these is an inscribed block which evidently supported imperial figures, presumably busts or statues of Divus Augustus and Diva Augusta that had been dedicated by the provincial priest Albinus (*AE*, 1997, 777b).[9] The second records that a 5 lb gold *protomé* of Titus has been dedicated by the province, that is the *concilium provinciae*, in the presence of Ṃ. Iunius Latro, the provincial priest, and C. Arruntius Catellius Celer, propraetorian legate of the province (*CIL* 2, 5264).[10] Such objects were usually housed in a temple, either on the *cella* floor or in the porch, if portable and destined to be carried in procession on festival days of the imperial cult.[11] On either possibility the provincial context of these busts or statues points to the existence of a temple which with its *temenos* will have formed the nucleus of the provincial sanctuary.

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[7] *Contra* TED'A, *ibid.* On the "Temple of Diana" see Alvarez (1976) 43–52 at 50; Trillmich (1990) 305–9, attributing the temple to the "Gründerzeit" of Emerita; Nogales Basarrate (1996) with extensive bibl. nn. 2, 9, noting the relation of the temple to the imperial cult; Jiménez (1998) 14–15; Barrera (2000) 139–41, 182–4 with epigraphical and iconographical confirmation of the function of the temple; Panzram (2002) 243–5, 315. For a summary of the iconographic remains found both within the temple and in its environs see Garriguet, Culto (1997) 53. On the possibility that the "Temple of Diana" rather than a later temple may be the structure reproduced by a small anaglyph now in the possession of the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, see Fishwick, *Aedicula* (1995). *Contra* Barrera (2000) 188–90; Panzram (2002) 271–2, 286. See now Alvarez–Nogales Bassarate (2003), observing that the origin of the piece is unknown. I am indebted to the authors for forwarding an early draft of their chapter.

[8] Cf. above, p. 27, n. 83; Vol. I, 1, 151–2. For the first stages of the provincial cult of Lusitania see *ibid.* 157–8; Vol. III, 1, 53–4.

### ii. *The Provincial Centre*

Direct epigraphical evidence that might point to the presence of a provincial centre is limited to a handful of epigraphical texts. In contrast to the numerous pedestals of provincial priests that originate from the provincial enclave of Hither Spain, traces occur at Emerita of only four priests of Lusitania along with one priestess.[12] None of the surviving records was set up by the provincial council of Lusitania and none is known to originate from the supposed provincial zone (below); three in fact are funerary texts. Whether this is attributable to the accident of survival or the council of Lusitania simply abstained from erecting memorials of this kind can hardly be determined. It may be noted that, in contrast to what one finds in Baetica or Africa Proconsularis,[13] local records of provincial high priests do not reflect the prescriptions of a formula that might have been used from the time of Vespasian in recording the careers of high priests at the provincial centre. On

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[9] Vol. III, 1, 56–9.

[10] For discussion see Fishwick (1981) 86–96; Vol. I, 2, 278; II, 1, 558; III, 1, 167–9.

[11] Vol. II, 1, 556ff.

[12] Albinus, *flamen D*[*ivi Aug(usti) et?*] *Divae Aug(ustae) provinciae Lusitan*[*iae*]; Ṃ. Iunius Latro, *flamen provinciae Lusitaniae*; [. . .] Modestus, [*flamen p*]*rovinc(iae) Lusitan(iae)*; C. Pompeius Priscus, *flam(en) pr(ovinciae) Lusit(aniae)*; Helvia, *flamin(ica) provinc(iae)* [*Lusitaniae*]. For discussion with full references see Vol. III, 2, 139–54; further Trillmich, Fiktion (1993) 117–22, arguing that, as there is no evidence to support the existence of a provincial centre at Mérida, the theatre of Emerita may have been the preferred location for monuments to provincial priests; cf. *id.* (1996) 182–3. For a reply see Fishwick, Fiction (1995) 176–81, below, pp. 189–94; further in general Ramírez (1983) 393ff.; Saquete (1997) 137ff.; Jiménez (1998) 15–16; Delgado (1999) 445ff.

[13] Vol. III, 1, 120, 123–4, 130.

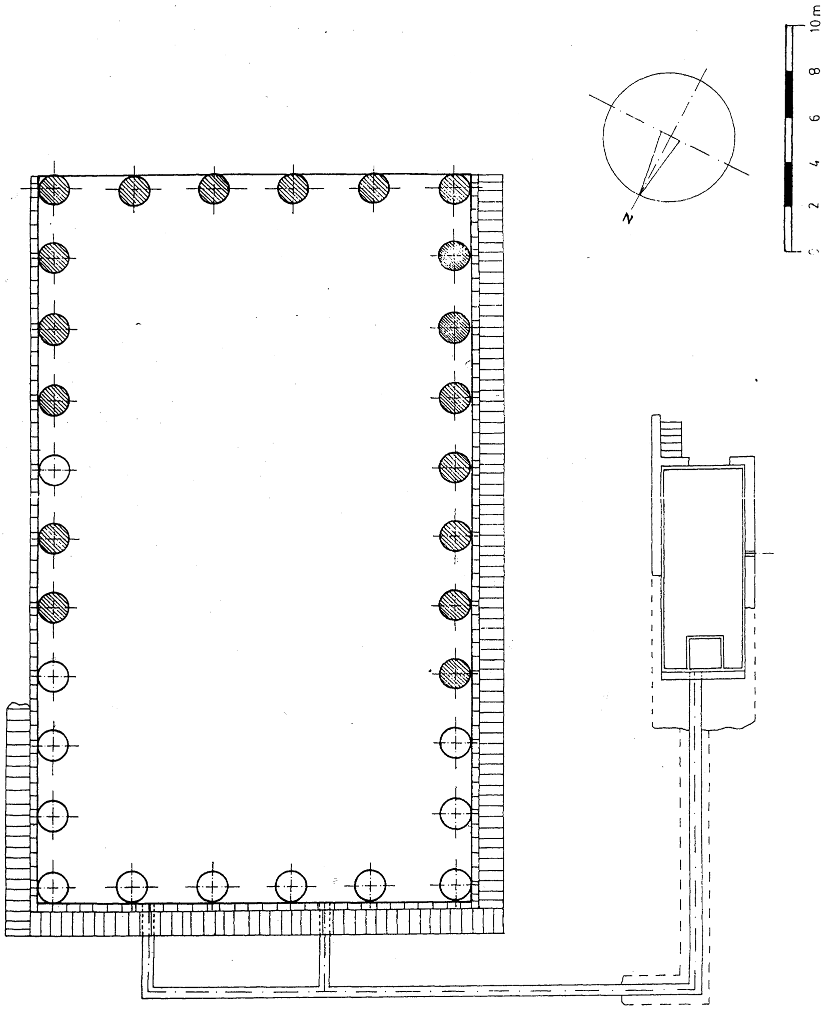

Plate 77. Plan of "Temple of Diana". Shaded columns are in original location.

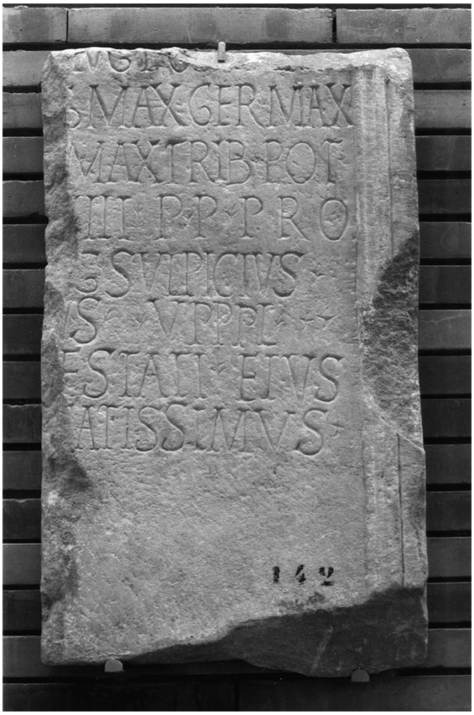

Plate 78. Altar dedicated to Constantine by Gaius Sulpicius Rufus.

the other hand, the inscription noted above records the dedication to Titus, probably in A.D. 77, of a small gold bust by the province, after which are named the provincial governor and the provincial *flamen*—patently the application in Lusitania of a provision comparable to one of the clauses of the Lex Narbonensis. Regrettably the find-spot of the stone is unknown but the presence and activity of the provincial council emerge unmistakably. The same inference follows from a trace of a freedman *tabularius* of the province, likewise found at Emerita—exactly where is again unknown.[14] We have seen that at Tarraco there is a close association between the *concilium* and employees of the imperial administration whose bureaux may have been located in the provincial enclave. Whether an allusion to a [*flamen? provi*]*ṇciae Lusit*[*aniae* may also be attested in connection with a *sacrarium Larum et imaginum* at the

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[14] *CIL* 2, 485–6, cf. 3235. See Vol. III, 2, 150. In contrast the slave *tabularius* of Tres Galliae (*CIL* 13, 1725) was clearly in the service of the federal council.

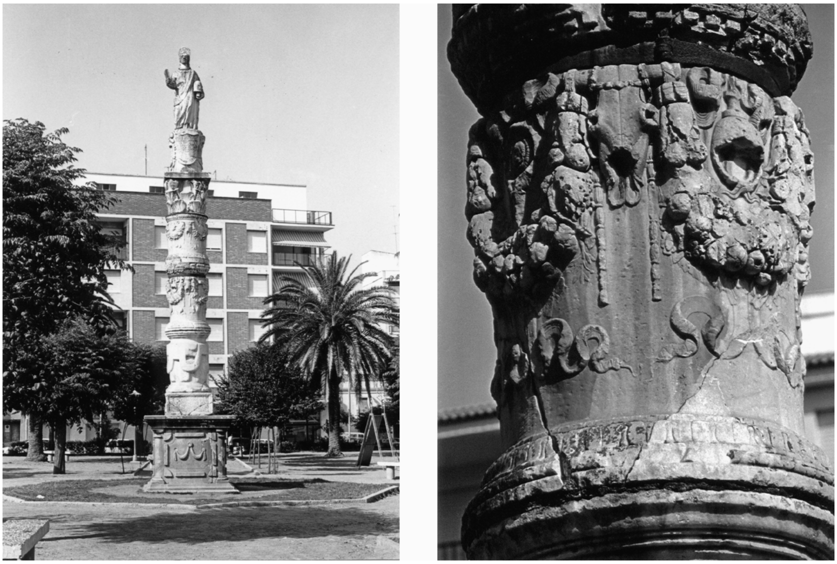

Plate 79. (a) Obelisk of Santa Eulalia. (b) Votive cylindrical altar incorporated in monument of Santa Eulalia.

theatre of Mérida is very uncertain (*AE*, 1990, 515),[15] but a link with the provincial cult looks probable whatever the correct completion happens to be (see below, pp. 68–9).

More to the point for present purposes is a group of testimonia—epigraphical, archaeological and iconographical—all of which originate from the north-west sector of the city.[16] While none of these directly attests provincial cult, they collectively point to a zone set aside for public purposes. The epigraphical record includes a dedication to Tiberius: *Tib. Caesari* | *Divi Augusti f.*[17]; a dedication to Domitian (*CIL* 2, 477); a dedication to Trajan by the Lancienses;[18] and the dedication of an altar to Constantine by Gaius Sulpicius Rufus, *praeses provinciae Lusitaniae* (*CIL* 2, 481 = *AE*, 1957, 251, Pl. 78). At Tarraco, as we have seen, the provincial governor may have had his headquarters within the provincial precinct. To these can be added what is probably a dedication to *Concordia Augusti* rather than the inscription from the epistyle of a temple, as normally supposed (*CIL* 2, 465: see below, p. 51). The stone now occupies the base of the monument of Santa Eulalia, which stands in the Plaza del Parador (earlier the Plaza de Santiago) and incorporates several cylindrical altars once stored, so it appears, at a house in Calle Avalos close to the "Temple of Diana", where they reportedly came to light (Pl. 79 a–b). These are decorated with reliefs representing *bucrania*, from which hang garlands of fruit and long *infulae*, sacrificial implements (*patera, praefericulum, securis, acerra*), and the priestly hat (*apex*)[19]—significant iconographical evidence that may relate to the municipal rather than the provincial cult of the emperor, given the find-spot of the altars.

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[15] Trillmich (1989/90); Nogales Basarrate, Espectáculos (2000) 34. The record is omitted from the list of priests of Lusitania in Vol. III, 2, 151–3.

[16] Fishwick, Coinage (1999) 113–15; Panzram (2002) 251–3, 267, 271, 310.

[17] Forner y Segarra (1893) 144. A drawing of this inscription is preserved in a manuscript copy of Forner's text, now kept in the library of the Museo de Mérida. For an overview of the epigraphical evidence see Garriguet, Culto (1997) 49–50; Barrera (2000) 173–4 with nn. 12–13.

[18] *Non vidi.* There seems to be no record of the text and the whereabouts of the stone is unknown but both Blázquez (1981) 95ff. and Alvarez (1982) 64 refer to the dedication in passing.

The hypothesis was originally proposed by M. Almagro Basch on the basis of archaeological remains that the general area of the city presently occupied by the Plaza del Parador Nacional de Turismo and the Cerro del Calvario may have been the site of a provincial forum distinct from the civic forum dominated by the "Temple of Diana".[20] Quite apart from inscriptions, numerous iconographic and monumental traces in this region attest the construction of buildings that were part of the same architectural complex. In addition to architectonic pieces from the allotment of El Calvario and remnants of statues and decorative art associated with another public building in Calle Holguín,[21] we have an old ground plan sketched by A. L. J. de Laborde in 1813, which shows vestiges of a rectangular edifice earlier indicated by Coello (Pl. 80).[22] Its location by the hermitage of El Calvario, though later corroborated by I. de la Cortina y Pulida, was put in doubt by J. R. Mélida, who identified the structure with one in Calle Sagasta;[23] but the correct site has now been confirmed by the subsequent recovery in Calle del Calvario of a column and a Corinthian capital, along with fragments of mortar and foundations. De Laborde's reconstruction is largely hypothetical, not to say fanciful, but it seems possible that the building is octostyle and peripteral, faced by four rows of columns, and perhaps enclosed by a sort of court. The principal room is 18m long by 21m wide and apparently divided into three naves by two sets of columns, ending in the centre with a semi-circular apse. De Laborde, who clearly had an imperfect understanding of the remains, supposed a temple of Jupiter though, quite aside from the abnormal depth of the supposed triple *cella* in comparison to the *pronaos*, a Capitolium would in any case have no place in a putative provincial centre. Others, such as Fernández y Pérez, have suggested a temple of Mars, the location of which is unknown. Hauschild in particular notes some parallels with the plan of the temple of Mars Ultor, more especially a similar *cella* with a semicircular apse, but suggests that the remains might rather be those of a *basilica*.[24] More recently J. M. Alvarez Martínez has concluded that the building is related in some ways to a *basilica*—he notes parallels with several buildings of this kind elsewhere in the westen provinces—but stresses that the existence of a *vestibulum* is inappropriate to a *basilica*.[25]

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[19] Garcia y Bellido (1949) 412–13, no. 413, proposing an Augustan date; cf. 416–19, no. 418. For detailed discussion of the altars with their reliefs see Barrera (1992); *id.* (1993) 130ff.; (2000) 130–2, nos. 494–6, 163–4.

[20] Almagro (1976) 199, 209; *id.* (1979) 130–3; Blázquez (1981) 95ff.; Alvarez (1982) 58ff.; *id.* (1992) 20–1; Jiménez (1987) 52ff.; Barrera (2000) 171. For a helpful summary see Jiménez (1994) 247–8; *id.* (1998) 15; Gariguet, Culto (1997) 55–6; Nogales-Basarrate, Altar (2000) 35; *ead.*, Relieve (2000) 420–2. The region is adjacent to the confluence of the rivers Ana (now the Guadiana) and Barraeca (now the Albarregas). For the view that this may originally have been the site of a cult of rivers comparable to that at Lugdunum and elsewhere, see Canto–Bejarano–Palma (1997) 281ff.; the thesis is argued on the basis of the 'Dintel de los Ríos' from the mausoleum of an *Augustalis* located within the archaelogical zone of the 'Casa del Anfiteatro' at Mérida.

[21] For excavations by M. Villena y Mosiño in the eighteenth century see Alvarez (1982) 60 with n. 27. These recovered a Corinthian capital, several columns, and fragments of a statue in the Calle de Holguín. See now Barerra (2000) 173, 179–81.

[22] *Id.* (1813) 1, 2, 110, Lám. CXLV, cf. Lám. CXLVI, where his simplified plan of the

At all events what we seem to have is a *basilica*-like structure in a large area where other public buildings have left significant traces. As for its purpose, if this was the site of the provincial enclave, there seems a distinct possibility that it served as the assembly hall of the provincial council. Relevant in this regard is that a comparable building, the architecture of which is not yet clear, has now been identified at Camulodunum, where it occurs in the south section of a complex situated in an area on or beyond the fringe of the city—well away from the central civic forum (below, pp. 146–8); the northern part, separated by the passage of the *decumanus maximus*, contains the *temenos* and *podium* of the

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city indicates the location of a "Temple of Jupiter" with the letter G. For the earlier plan of Mérida by Coello, showing the same emplacement of the building, see Alvarez (1982) 59, fig. 5, cf. 60, noting that ruins were later located in the same place by I. de la Cortina y Pulido. See now the detailed discussion of Barrera (2000) 179–80 with n. 60.

[23] *Id.* (1925) 1, 128–9, no. 705. For a survey of the early archaeological exploration of Mérida see Álvarez (1999).

[24] Hauschild, Problemas (1976) 109–10 with figs. 1 and 2; cf. Bendala (1989–90) 21–2.

[25] *Id.* (1982) 62–3. See further the objections of Barrera (2000) 180 with n. 59.

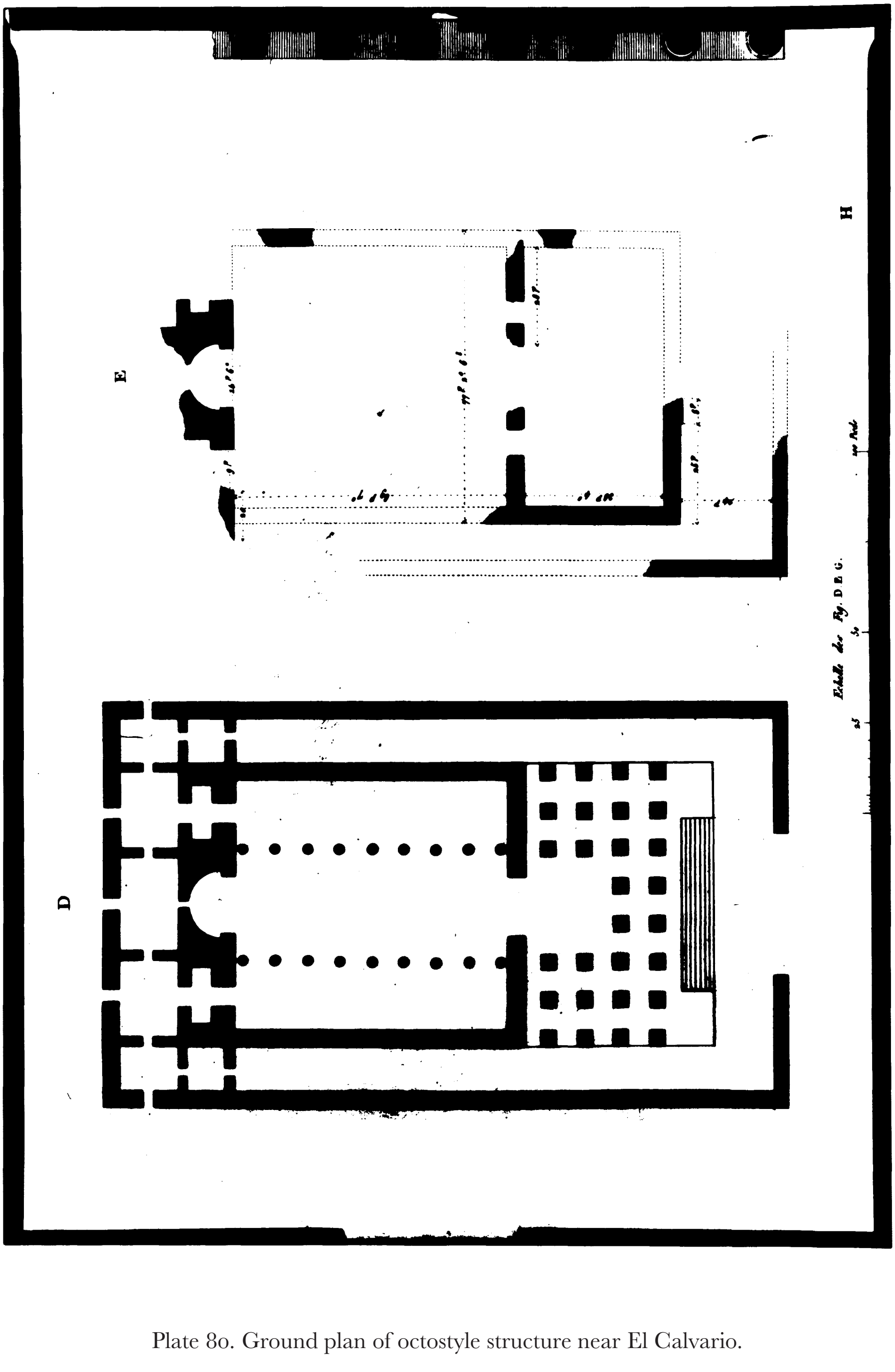
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Plate 80. Ground plan of octostyle structure near El Calvario.

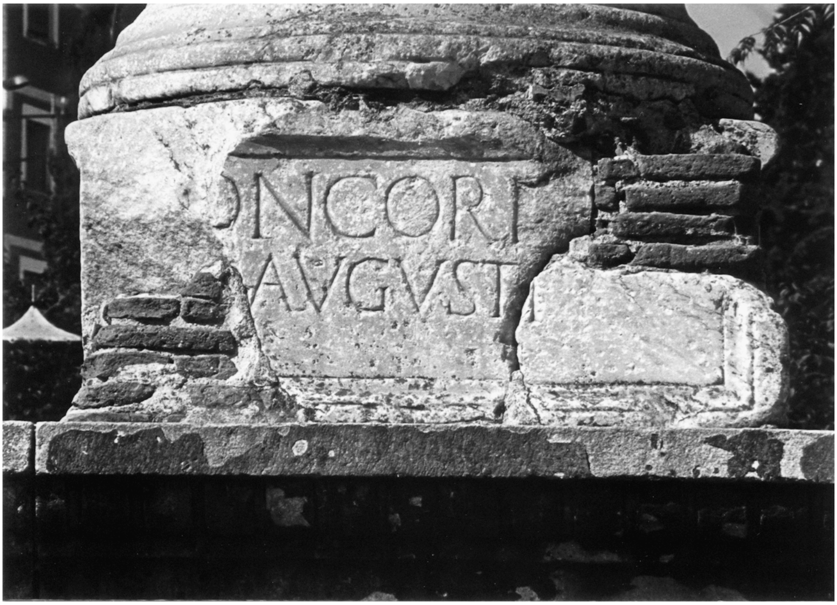

Plate 81. Pedestal with dedication to Concordia Augusti incorporated at base of monument of Santa Eulalia.

temple of Divus Claudius (Vol. I, 2, Pl. XXXIX–XL). Apart from the fact that it is divided into two segments, a feature which can be paralleled elsewhere (though not at a provincial centre), this conjunction of temple, forum and *basilica* closely parallels the situation at Mérida, so tells in favour of the inference that at both centres the building should be identifed as the *curia* of the *concilium provinciae*.

Among the numerous remains from the zone in which de Laborde's building is situated occur ex voto's of bronze and other relics of the same metal now in the Museo Nacional de Arte Romano; these include a bronze horse and what are very possibly figures of a *flaminica* and a *flamen*, all from the Cerro del Calvario.[26] The possibility of a temple in this region was raised long ago with reference to the dedication to *Concordia Augusti* inscribed on a pedestal (Pl. 81) and tentatively attributed to the *epistylium* of a temple (*CIL* 2, 465: above, p. 47). No parallel at a provincial centre can be adduced in support but a dedication to Concord as a virtue of the emperor would certainly be in context and parallel similar traces of the concept at Tarraco and elsewhere.[27]

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[26] Canto–Bejarano–Palma (1997) 283–5 with Tafeln 46–7.

Far more important is the recent identification at nos. 35/37 in Calle Holguín of what was plainly a large temple with four enormous columns fronting its principal facade (Pl. 82).[28] Its full size is not yet certain as a good part of the *podium* is embedded in neighbouring structures and the wall of the temple, like its rear face, is hidden beneath the present street and modern buildings, but excavations begun in 1983 have revealed a temple *podium* 3.10m high, 7.95m wide and 15.20m long, with a core of *opus caementicium*, individual courses of stones 0.41m thick, and a parameter of stone blocks originally faced by marble plaques. Remains also occur of marble mouldings and of *opus signinum* by which these were secured to the stone. The *pronaos* in *opus quadratum* was at the maximum 3.10m high, 4.65m wide and 9.70m long, so while it is too early to tell the precise classification of the temple, the proportions suggest a pseudoperipteral plan with a transverse *cella* like that of the Temple of Concordia at Rome.[29] In its day one of the most magnificent temples of the colony of Augusta Emerita, the edifice was of colossal proportions, the drums of its marble columns reaching 1.50m in diameter. Recent study of the marble architectonic decoration that survives points to erection during the late Augustan/Tiberian period, a date which would fit the evidence of the coins.[30] As the discovery of marble steps below the "Arco de Trajano" reveals, one ascended from here to the gates of the temple by way a monumental stairway, perhaps broken by an intermediate platform, a not inconsiderable distance (Pls. 83, 84 a-b-c). The location of the building at the most elevated point of the zone argues for its religious character but any possibility that it

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[27] Cf. Étienne (1958) 320ff. *et passim*. For the background see in general Fears, Virtues (1981) 841ff. with n. 67 s.v. Concordia, 886, 895ff. Apart from the temple to Concordia at Rome, re-dedicated by Tiberius in A.D. 10 under the name Concordia Augusta, the only certain example of a temple to this concept elsewhere seems to be at Patavium: Roscher 1, 922 (Peter).

[28] Alvarez (1985) 42; cf. Bendala (1989–90) 22; Cerrillo (1995); Jiménez (1998) 15; Barrera (2000) 148, 171–3. Nogales Basarrate, Altar (2000) 35 with n. 147, stressing the correspondence with the tetrastyle temple illustrated on coins of Emerita; *ead.*, Relieve (2000) 421 with nn. 149–50. See further Alvarez–Nogales Basarrate (2003).

[29] Alvarez (1986) 156–7; *id.* (2000) 19. For the suggestion that the Temple of the Three Gauls might have been constructed on a similar plan see below, p. 124.

[30] Barrera (2000) 175; Alvarez–Nogales Basarrate (2003), noting that the radiate head of Augustus on the obverses suggests the temple will have been destined for Divus Augustus.

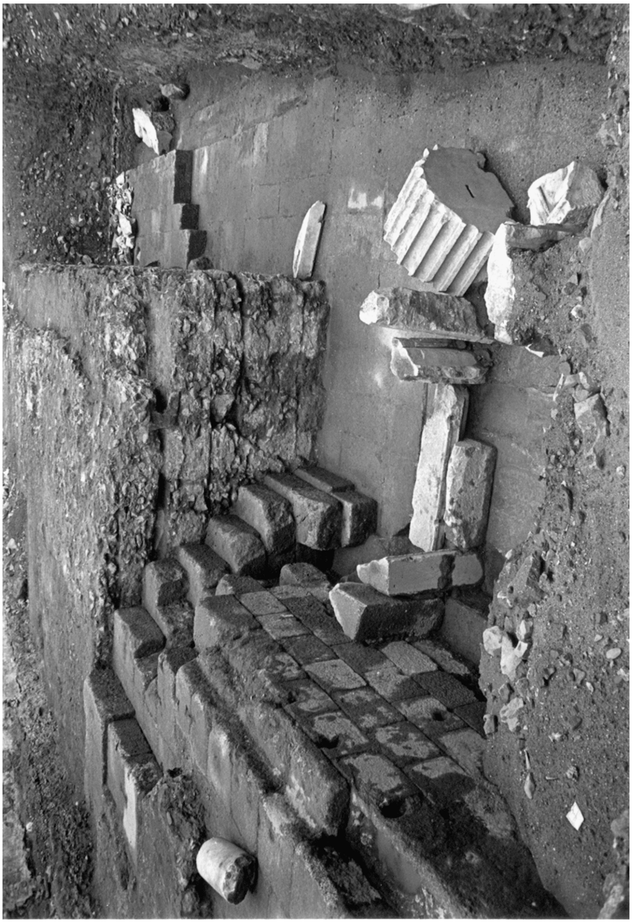

Plate 82. Remains of monumental temple in Calle Holguín, Mérida.

was a Capitolium looks remote at this date and, as with de Laborde's building, would be precluded by its location if this was in fact the provincial forum.[31] Various features suggest, on the contrary, that this could be the Temple of Lusitania, in which case it will have stood at the back of a precint bordered by a portico, remains of which have recently been identified during current excavations.[32]

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[31] See in general Gros (1986) 122–3, 117; Barrera (2000) 173.

[32] Alvarez (1992) 21; Barrera (2000) 172, refers to part of the wall in *opus incertum* that encloses the *temenos*. For a comparble plan at Arles see *id.*, *o.c.* 173 with n. 9 and ref.

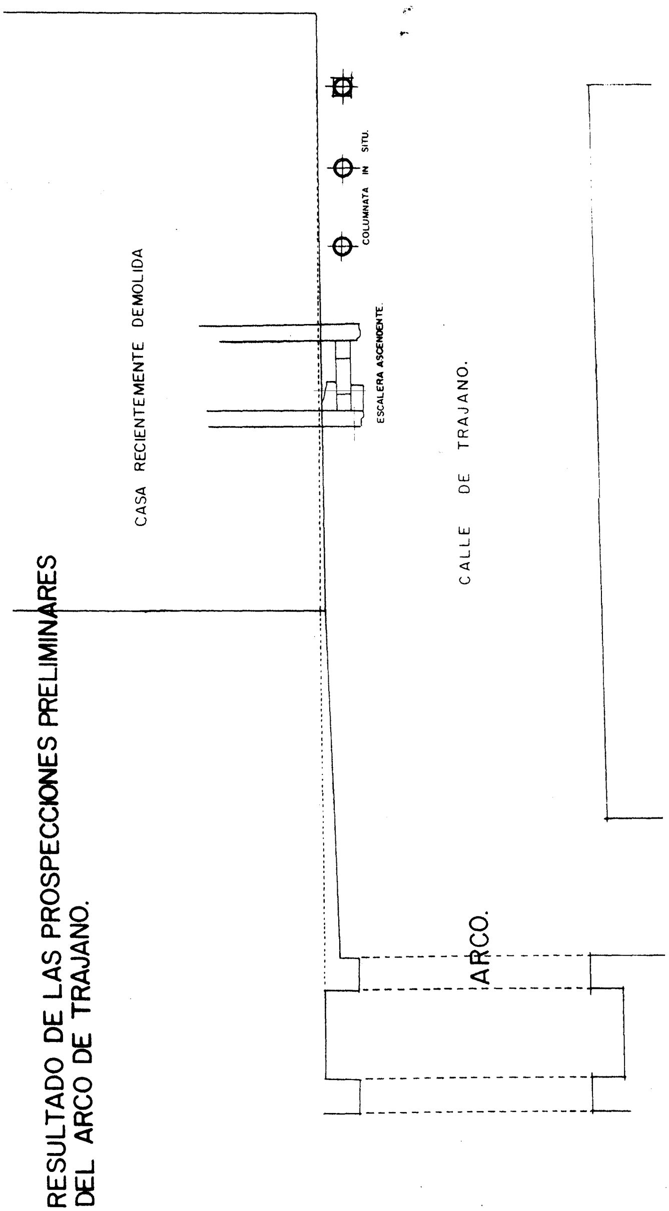
RESULTADO DE LAS PROSPECCIONES PRELIMINARES
DEL ARCO DE TRAJANO.
CASA RECIENTEMENTE DEMOLIDA
COLUMNATA IN SITU.
ESCALERA ASCENDENTE.
CALLE DE TRAJANO.
ARCO.

Plate 83. Plan showing monumental stairway leading from "Arco de Trajano" to temple in Calle Holguín.

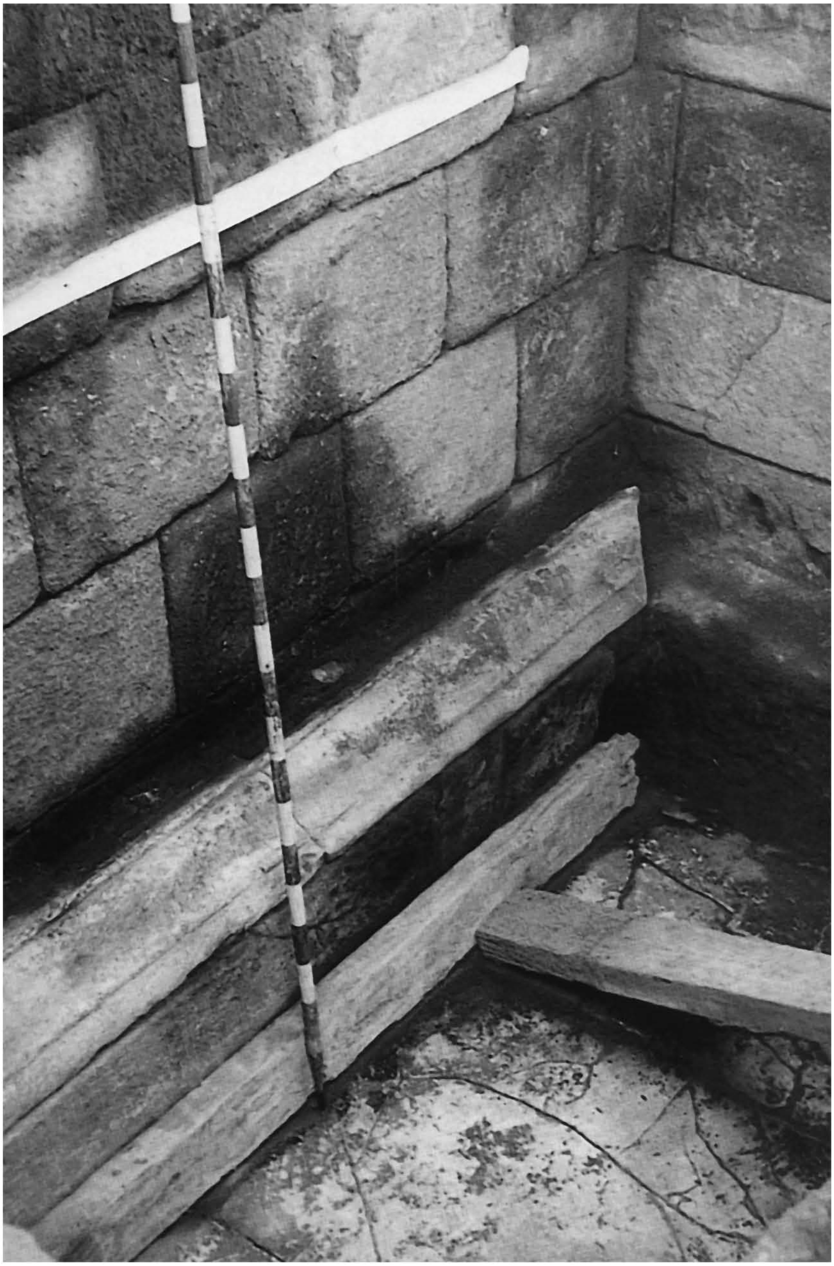

Plate 84 (a) Interior of “Arco de Trajano” with marble moldings and floor *in situ*.

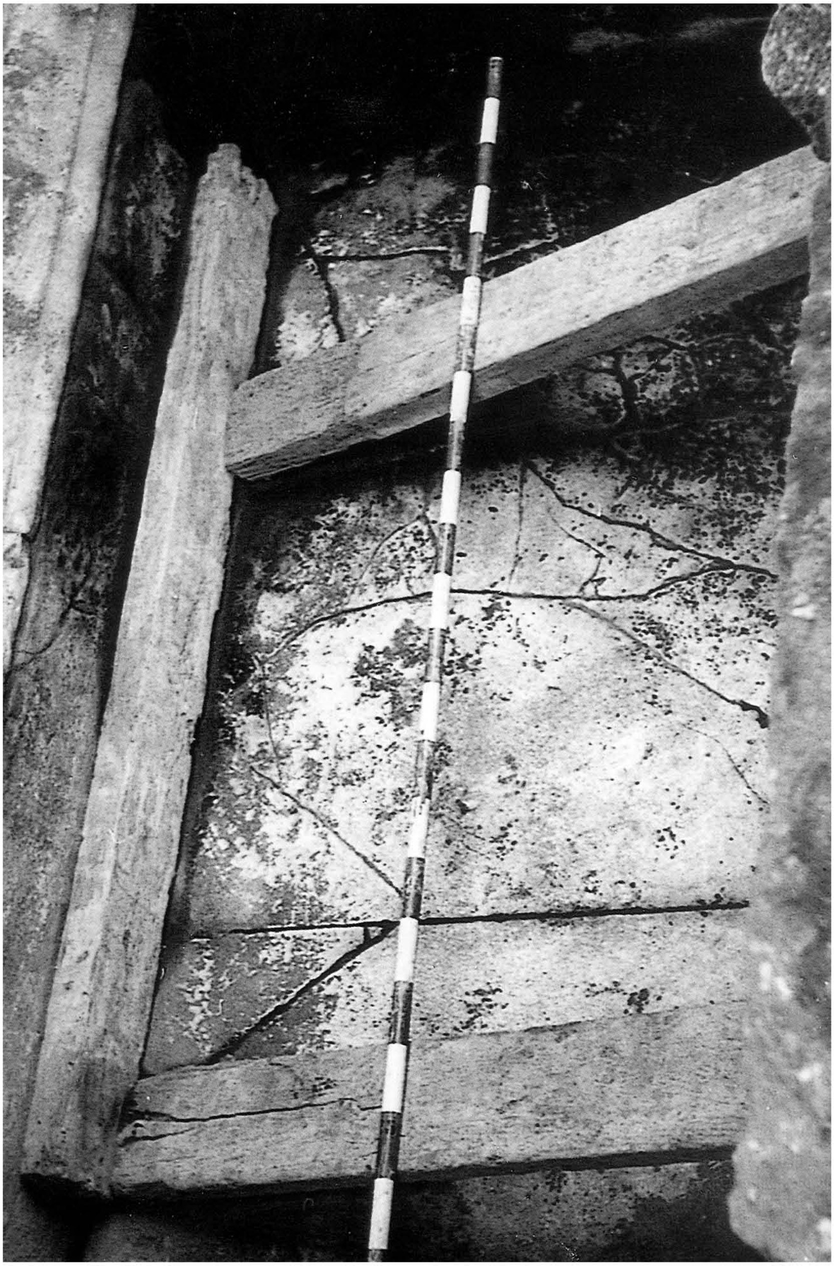

Plate 84 (b) Detail of marble flags flooring “Arco de Trajano”.

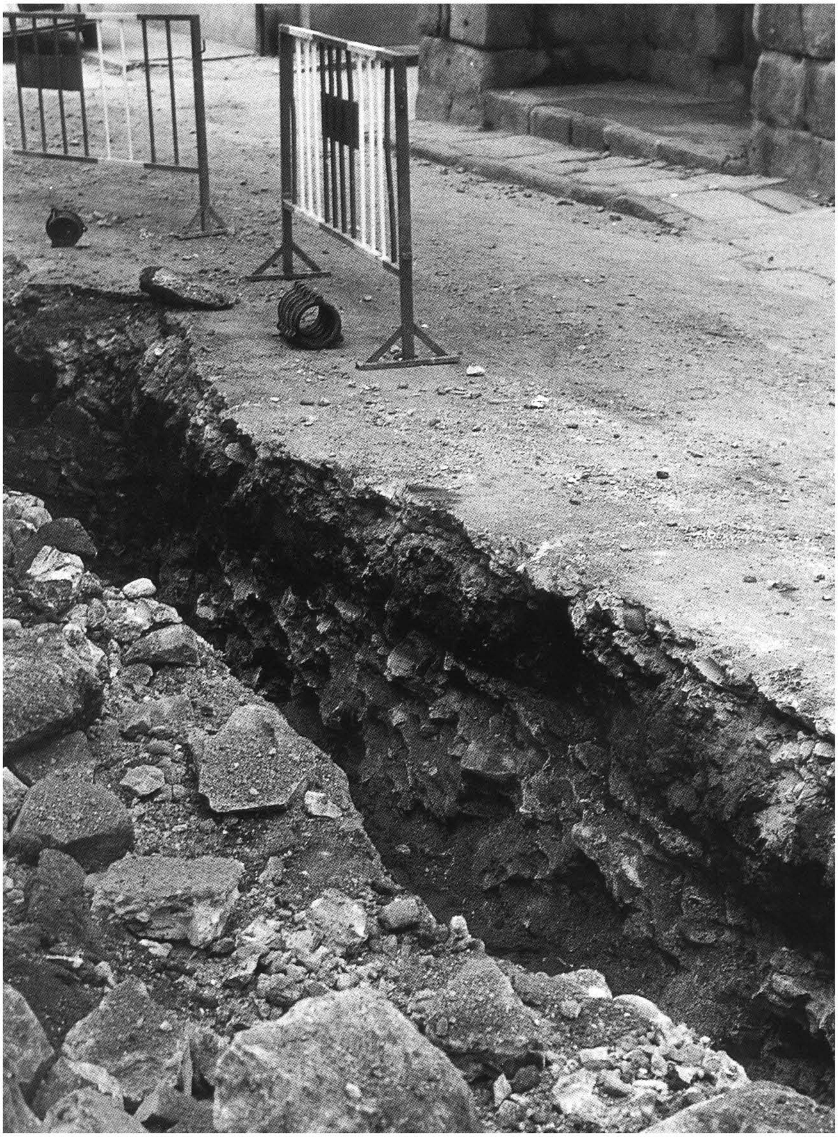

Plate 84 (c) Open trench below “Arco de Trajano” showing marble step of stairway accessing provincial temple.

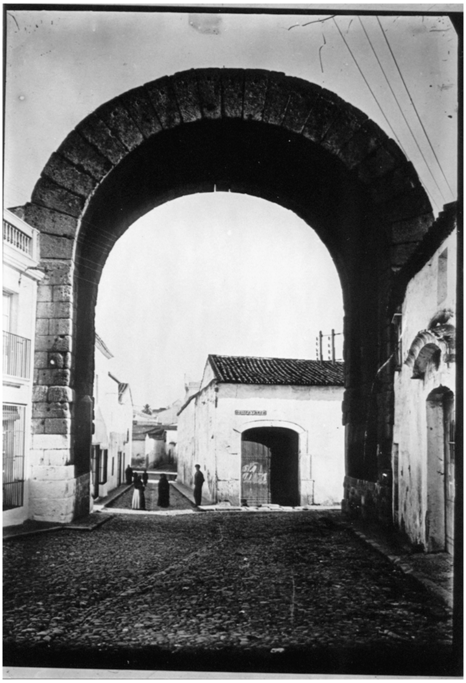

Plate 85. "Arco de Trajano" at Mérida.

The existence of two forums at Emerita—one certainly municipal about 5000m$^2$ in extent and presided over by the Temple of Diana, the other possibly a provincial enclosure comprising a large temple possibly with administrative buildings in the vicinity of the Plaza del Parador (Pl. 84)—would fit the pattern observable at provincial capitals elsewhere in the western provinces, in particular at Tarraco and Narbo. The line of demarcation between these two sectors at Mérida is difficult to define at present but it seems at all events established that a division was imposed by the arbitrarily named "Arco di Traiano", which spanned the *cardo maximus* and gave access to the precinct (Pl. 85).[33] In practice this served not as a city gate or a triumphal arch but as a sort of monumental entrance to an enclosed area. Examples of arches which served the same function occur elsewhere, notably in Rome, Italy and North Africa, where the Arch at Lepcis Magna, for example, likewise straddles the *cardo maximus*, separating one sector of the city from another. Trillmich argues strongly that this zone must belong to the foundation plan of the city of Emerita since it interrupts the course of the *cardo maximus*, which then continues on the far side.[34] So in contrast to the situation at Tarraco, where a special precinct was built in a location remote from the city centre, an existing zone of the city will have been adapted to provincial needs—a major difference at Emerita which we shall see to be repeated at Corduba. That the area could have served this purpose looks nevertheless supported by the privileged position of the temple on the same axis as the *cardo maximus*, above all by the epigraphic evidence with its references to Tiberius, Domitian, Trajan and Concordia Augusti.[35] To these can be added the tetrastyle temple show on coins, if this is in fact the temple in the Calle Holguín (above, pp. 41–3). The final word naturally rests with future archaeological or epigraphical discoveries that might ultimately disclose the dedication of the temple and the affiliation of this sector of the city. If this should rule out any link with the provincial worship, one would have to seek an appropriate zone elsewhere in the city.

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[33] Richmond (1930) 103; Almagro (1976) 199–200; Blázquez (1981) 96; Alvarez (1982) 64–6; Barrera (2000) 172–3; Panzram (2002) 251, noting that the arch goes back to the time of Augustus.

### iii. *The Municipal Forum and the Marble* forum adiectum

The municipal forum lies, strictly speaking, outside the scope of the discussion[36] but an abundantly attested decorative motif relates directly to the present analysis. In addition to the remains of a group of statues of members of the imperial house which stood either within or outside the municipal temple—quite possibly on the tribunal in front of the temple, as at Lepcis Magna—there survives a set of *clipei* with the heads of Jupiter Ammon or Medusa (Pl. 86 a-c) along with fragmentary caryatids (Pl. 87).[37] One of these remnants is of unknown origin, one a chance find in Calle Santa Eulalia (*decumanus maximus*), others were found years ago at El Berrocal, a further group as recently as 1980 at

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[34] Trillmich (1996) 175; Jiménez (1994) 248. Pl. 88 erroneously indicates that the *cardo maximus* stretched under the Arco de Trajano, whereas in fact it was interrupted here by the great stairs leading up to the temple in Calle Holguín. See further Barrera (2000) 172, nn. 3, 6.

[35] Barrera (2000) 173–4; *contra* Trillmich, Fiktion (1993) 117–22.

[36] For detailed analysis see Barrera (2000) 181–8; further Panzram (2002) 243–6, 267–9, 310.

[37] Trillmich (1990) 310ff. For a complete inventory see now the catalogue of Barrera (2000) 76–105, nos. 229–370 with plates and figs. 25–33 (clipei); 105–10, nos. 371–96 with plates and fig. 35 (caryatids). For commentary see *id.*, 158–62.

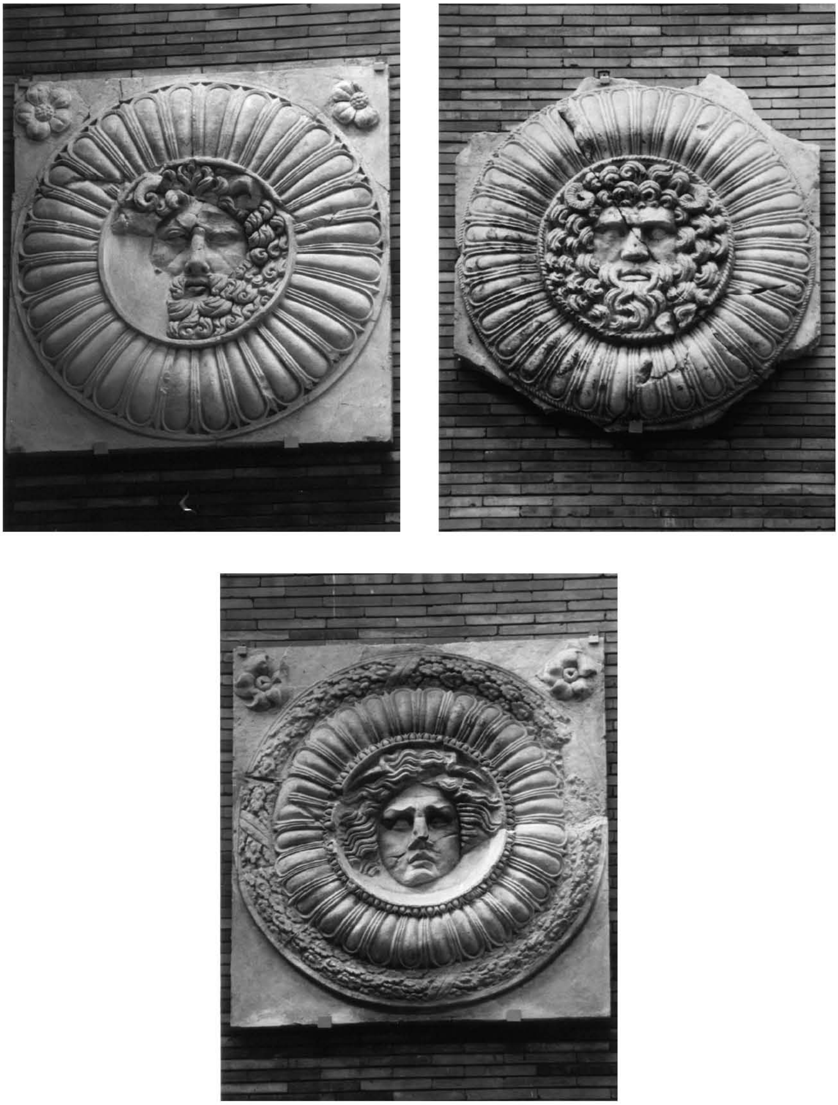

Plate 86. *Clipei* with head of Jupiter Ammon (a,b) or Medusa (c), now in Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida.

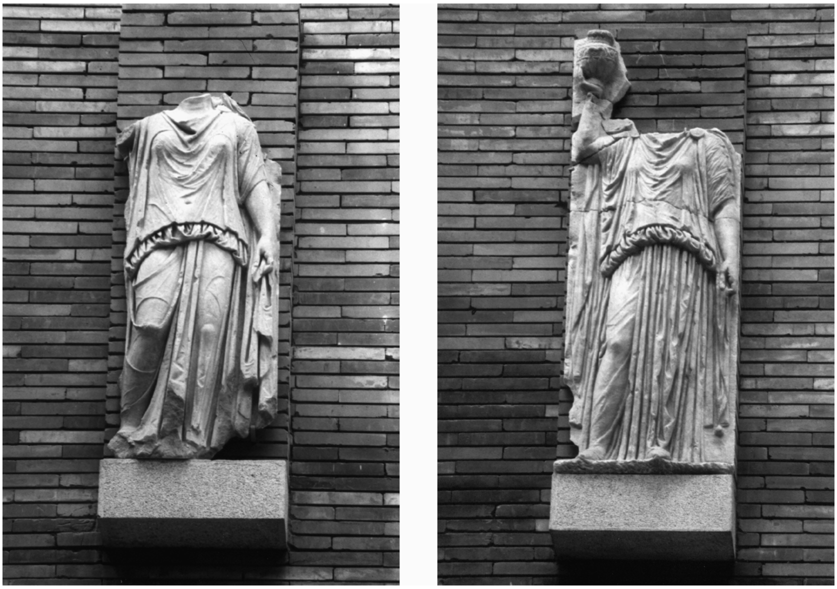

Plate 87. Caryatids (a, b) at Mérida.

nos. 11–13 in Calle de Sagasta, near the municipal forum; but by far the largest cache was found in a drain in 1934 at Pancaliente on the northern outskirts of Mérida by the Rio Guadiana.[38] Some 39 pieces in all were recovered here, including 6 capitals of pilasters, 13 remnants of *phalerae*, 1.68m in diameter, with the head of Jupiter Ammon or Medusa (these amount to 6 or 7 *clipei* in all), 4 caryatids, 7 fragments of a frieze decorated with Augustan themes, also a scene of sacrifice. The various sets of reliefs are dated by M. F. Squarciapino on stylistic grounds to the late Julio-Claudian or Flavian period at the highest, while iconographic criteria sugest that the *clipei* and *caryatids* in particular form a coherent group. Quite clearly, all these remains recall the motif in the Forum Augustum at Rome, just as at Tarraco (above, pp. 12, 14–17), so could well derive likewise from the attic of the portico associated with a forum or a temple.

What has recently emerged, however, is that on the north-east side of the "old forum" there was constructed, at first sight in the late Claudian period, an adjoining architectural and sculptural complex evidently surrounded by a portico. W. Trillmich characterizes this as a "marble forum" (Pl. 88) and notes that so far we know only the north-east corner of the portico, vestiges of which were encountered at no. 1 Calle Sagasta.[39] As this *forum adiectum* evokes architecturally the Forum Augustum, it is reasonable to suppose that its attic will have been similarly decorated with masks of Jupiter Ammon and Medusa along with caryatids.[40] The reconstruction of Trillmich, based on other architectonic remains, further proposes that niches separated by pilasters in the back wall of the forum will have housed statues of the kings of Rome, members of the imperial family identified by an inscription below, probably also a colossal group portraying Aeneas with Anchises and Ascanius.[41] That the entire complex will in that case have been closely modelled on the prototype at Rome looks to be confirmed by a fragmentary inscription which has recently been recognized as part of a copy of the Aeneas inscription at the Forum Augustum.[42] On the other hand no trace has yet emerged of an associated temple like that now documented at the similar *forum adiectum* of Corduba or on the uppermost terrace of the provincial centre of Tarraco.[43] In light of this new development the remains from Pancaliente are now assumed to belong *in toto* to the "marble forum",[44] as must also the fragments from Calle Sagasta and Calle Santa Eulalia, all of which tally in style. However, among these iconographic traces is a scene portraying a veiled figure about to sacri-

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[38] Garcia y Bellido (1949) 415, no. 417; Squarciapino (1976) 55–62; *ead.* (1982) 40–1; Blázquez (1981) 93–4; Jiménez (1987) 51–2 with n. 53; Trillmich (1990) 311–12; Nogales Basarrate, Altar (2000) 26–8.

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[39] *Id.* (1990) *loc. cit.*; Hispanien (1993) 50ff.; (1996) 175–81, 183ff.; (1995) 269–91. See further Alvarez–Nogales Basarrate (1990); Jiménez (1994) 248; *id.*, Templo (1996) 147; Garriguet, Culto (1997) 54; Jiménez (1998) 16; Barrera (2000) 184–5 with bibl. For the use of marble in imitation of Augustan practice see Saquete (1997) 71 with n. 231, citing Suet., *Aug.* 28.

[40] Ensoli (1997) 164–6; Ungaro (1997); Panzram (2002) 246–51, 267–9, 310, 315.

[41] Barrera–Trillmich (1996); Barrera (2000) 185–6; Alvarez–Nogales Basarrate (2003).

[42] For the Aeneas inscription see Barrera (1996); Panzram (2002) 250.

[43] See further Fishwick, Forum (2000) 98–9, noting that such a temple—presumably octostyle like the temple of Mars Ultor at Rome—would then be distinct from the Augustan municipal temple of Emerita, the hexastyle "Temple of Diana" on the civic forum. The time needed to construct such a temple would in turn raise the possibility that the Emerita complex is in fact of earlier origin, probably Tiberian, and that only the partly known portico is Claudian, as its architectonic and sculptural vestiges attest. For a possible *exedra* set aside for cultic purposes on the south side of the "marble forum" see Trillmich (1995) 277–8; *id.* (1996) 180–3.

[44] Earlier commentators, notably García y Bellido and J. Álvarez Sáenz de Buruaga, now joined by A. M. Canto, were nevertheless doubtful that all these relics belong together; cf. Canto–Bejarano–Palma (1997) 285 with n. 129.

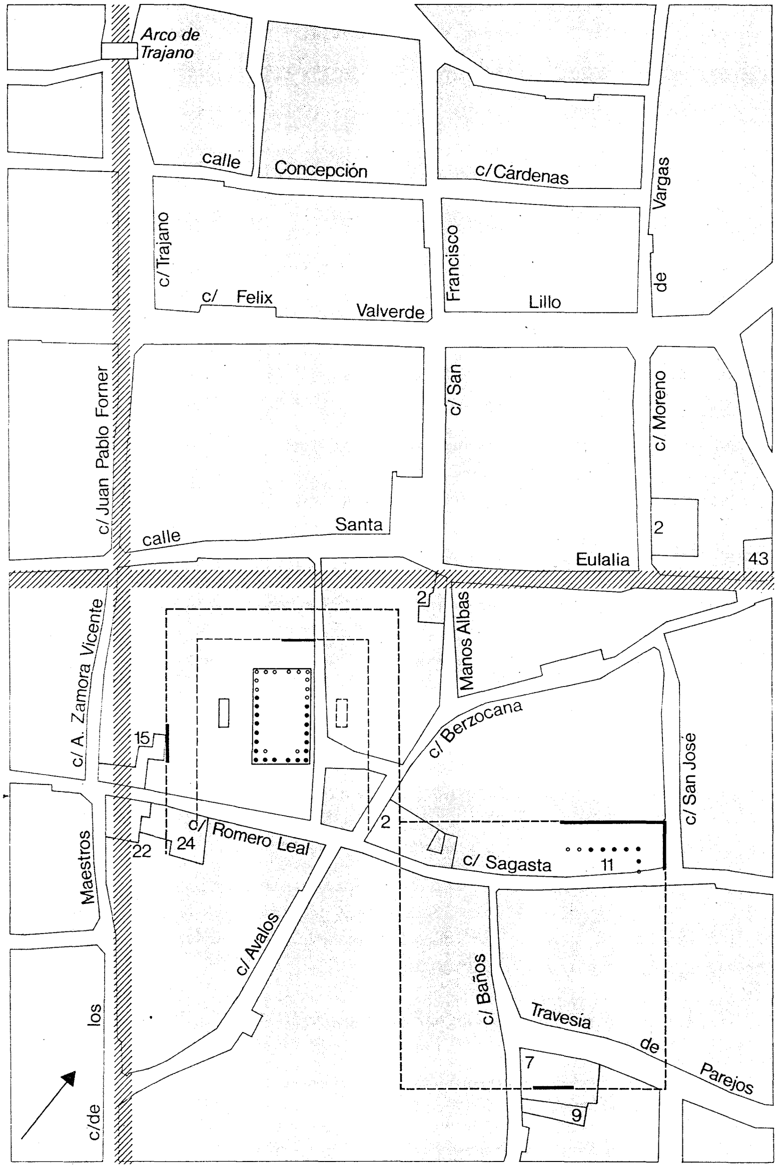
Arco de Trajano
calle
Concepción
c/Cárdenas
Vargas
de
c/Trajano
c/ Felix
Valverde
Francisco
Lillo
c/ Juan Pablo Forner
c/ San
c/ Moreno
calle
Santa
Eulalia
2
43
2
c/ A. Zamora Vicente
Manos Albas
c/ Berzocana
15
c/ San José
2
c/ Romero Leal
22
24
c/ Sagasta
11
Maestros
c/ Avalos
c/ Baños
Travesia
de
Parejos
los
c/de
7
9

Plate 88. Centre of Mérida showing "Arco de Trajano" and main forum with "Temple of Diana" and Claudian "marble forum".

fice.[45] Once believed to represent the Genius Ordinis of Emerita (Vol. II, 1, Pl. XCa) accompanied by an adolescent identified as the Genius Populi,[46] the relief has been recently thought to show not M. Agrippa, patron of the city, but Agrippa(s), mythical king of Alba Longa, offering sacrifice at a monumental altar.[47] Among other fragments, one showing a lictor near an arch may also be part of some portrayed public ceremony, whether the same sacrifice or another,[48] while other pieces are remnants of friezes that show *bucrania*, festooned with fruit or laurel, and sacrificial instruments. Quite clearly these latter traces are related to Augustan monuments and their derivatives and may be referable to the imperial cult.[49]

As the evidence now stands, therefore, we have at least four different locations where *clipei* and associated reliefs have been found, all of which are taken to originate from the same "marble forum". In that case we have no archaeological record whatsoever of any similar arrangement at the putative provincial centre. Evidently what is usually taken nowadays to be an enclave that served the entire province of Lusitania was untouched by an architectonic model enthusiastically adopted elsewhere in the western empire, and consequently outshone in this respect by the local *forum adiectum*. This contrasts sharply with the picture at Tarraco, where precisely the opposite situation is observable: a provincial complex in which the cult precinct is adorned with suspended *clipei* but no direct evidence of a similar scheme in the lower municipal forum. We have seen that the evidence of Florus might nevertheless point in that direction (above, p. 17). The fact that the disposal site at Pancaliente is actually nearer to the provincial than to the municipal forum of Emerita need not be significant but the complete absence of any trace of this decorative *koiné* within the supposed provincial centre is striking. It nevertheless remains the case that nothing definitive

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[45] Garcia y Bellido (1949) 402, no. 403; Blázquez (1981) 94–5.

[46] Veyne (1961) 264ff.; Alvarez (1975) 147; Vol. II, 1, 529. For the suggestion that the scene represents the solemn inauguration of the new colony of Mérida founded in 25 B.C. see Canto (1990) 293 with Trillmich (1990) 299, n. 2.

[47] Trillmich (1986); Garriguet, Culto (1997) 47, n. 11 with ref., 53; Saquete (1997) 65 with n. 209 and refs.; Barrera (2000) 185–6 with n. 89 and refs. For the view that the Agrippa relief along with other iconographic fragments comes from an Ara Providentiae at Emerita see Nogales Basarrate, Altar (2000) 26–31; *ead.* Relieve (2000); Panzram (2002) 246; Alvarez–Nogales Basarrate (2003).

[48] Garcia y Bellido (1949) 416–17, no. 418 E; Squarciapino (1982) 40–1.

[49] See in general Zanker (1990) 307ff. *et passim*.

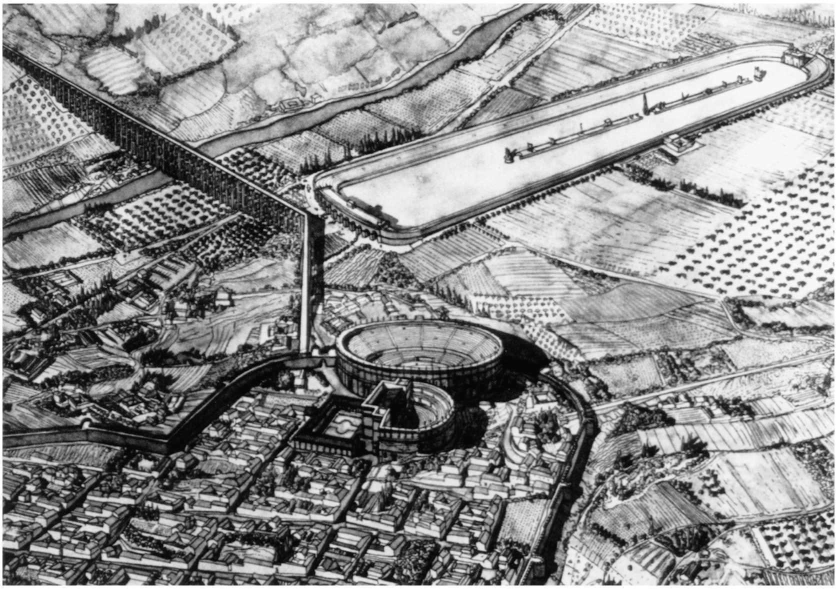

Plate 89. Sketch of theatre, amphitheatre and circus of Emerita according to J. C. Golvin, J. M. Alvarez, T. Nogales Basarrate.

has so far accrued to undermine the *communis opinio*, according to which the use of decorative *clipei* and caryatids was restricted to the "marble forum" north-east of the old *forum* by the "Temple of Diana".

### iv. *The Amphitheatre, Theatre and Circus*

The amphitheatre of Augusta Emerita (Vol. II, 1, Pl. CXa), unlike that at Lugdunum in particular, lies at an interval of several hundred metres from the supposed provincial centre.[50] How far exactly is difficult to say as the extent of the provincial enclave is uncertain, but clearly the amphitheatre with the adjacent theatre will have been an easy walk away, even if perhaps twice as far distant as, say, the amphitheatre from the provincial enclosure at Tarraco (Vol. II, 1, Pl. CVI). In any event both structures could be said to lie in the vicinity of the temple in Calle

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[50] Golvin (1988) 109–10, no. 77; Trillmich (1990) 304, n. 45 with refs. See in general Almagro (1976) 194; *id.* (1979) 43ff.; Richmond (1930) 110ff.; Alvarez (1986) 158–61; *id.* (1992) 21–4; Panzram (2002) 257–60, 275, 291, 315. On the location of the theatre, amphitheatre and circus see now Nogales Basarrate, Espectáculos (2000) 21–5, noting that the placement of the theatre and amphitheatre on the periphery of the Augusta Emerita will have facilitated the handling of large crowds.

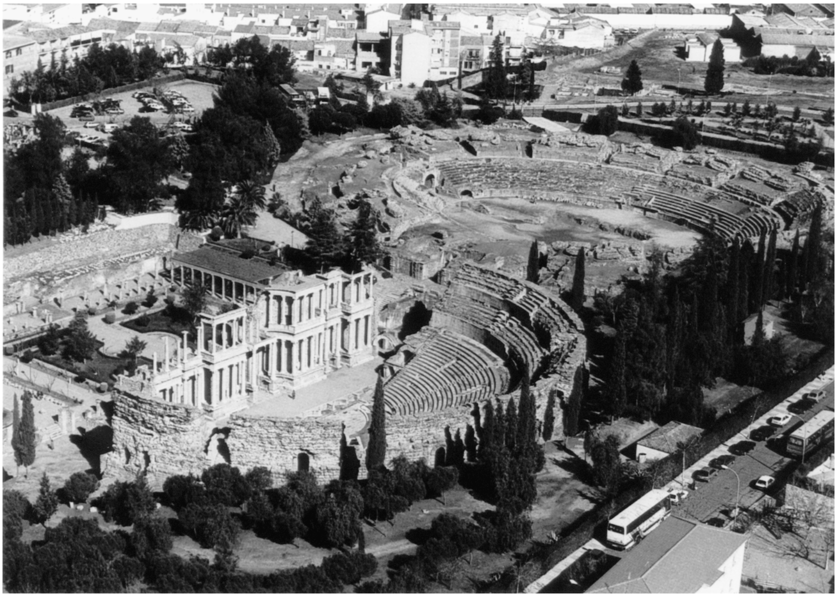

Plate 90. Aerial view of theatre and amphitheatre of Mérida.

Holguín and its related buildings.[51] From the amphitheatre and the theatre to the circus, which is situated about 500m east of the city walls (Vol. II, 1, Pl. CXb), is again a comfortable walk across the San Lazáro aqueduct (Pl. 89). The distances involved are of interest since one can hardly doubt that at Emerita, just as at similar centres elsewhwere, processions will have connected the provincial temple with these places of entertainment on high festival days, particularly the *dies natalis* of the emperor. One unique feature at Emerita in this regard is that the theatre is situated immediately beside the amphitheatre. Elsewhere the theatre tends to be closely linked with the civic forum and hence more obviously associated with municipal rites of the imperial cult, though it is notable that at Camulodunum the theatre lies adjacent to the temple complex on the edge of the colony: that is to say, the provincial centre of Britannia (below, p. 147).

An obvious explanation for the more distant location of these civic facilities at Mérida is that they will have been constructed prior to the lay-out of a provincial enclave, patently a different situation to

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[51] For a recent map see Alvarez (1985) 47, fig. 2. For an ideal plan of Emerita see Nogales Basarrate, Espectáculos (2000) 117, Lám. IB.

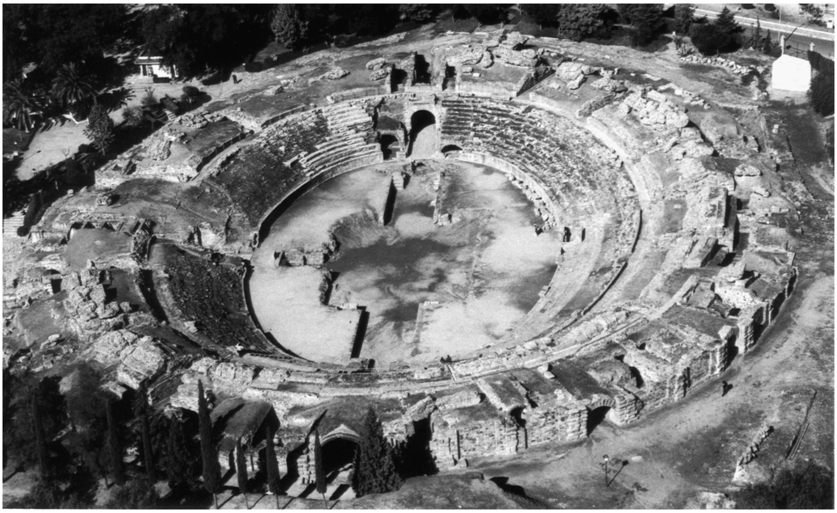

Plate 91. Aerial view of amphitheatre at Mérida.

that at Lugdunum or Tarraco. We know from inscriptions that the amphitheatre, a somewhat smaller model than others in the Iberian peninsula, was more or less completed by the time of its dedication to Augustus in 8/7 B.C.[52] At that juncture it became part of an ensemble with the theatre (Pl. 90), which inscriptions link with Agrippa in 16/15 B.C. (*CIL* 2, 474 = *ILS* 130),[53] though construction may not have been completed until the reign of Claudius.[54] The architectural details of neither structure are germane to the present discusion but it is worth noting that the arena of the amphitheatre measures *ca.* 65 by 51m, the

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[52] Trillmich, *o.c.* 305, n. 47 with refs. For the epigraphical texts see Almagro (1979) 55–6. For a monumental imperial inscription dated to 51–4 A.D. and conceivably related to work on the amphitheatre see now Canto–Bejarano–Palma (1997) 288–91 with Tafel 48a.

[53] For the construction of the peristyle and early *scaenae frons* in the same material as the "Temple of Diana" see Saquete (1997) 38; further Durán (1998) 17–18.

[54] To this first phase belong the *ima cavea* and *orchestra*, also a small quadrangular room in the portico *post scaenam*, which has produced five *statuae togatae*, three imperial heads including those of Tiberius and Drusus as well as a larger, veiled head of Augustus, also an inscription attesting a *flamen* who served the cult of Iulia Augusta: Trillmich, Fiktion (1993) 119–21. The room was originally thought to be a library but is usually taken nowadays as a *sacellum* of the imperial cult; cf. Panzram (2002) 256, 260. *Contra* Trillmich, Novedades (1993) 114. For an overview of the theatre and the staging of *ludi scaenici* see Trillmich (1990) 304, nn. 44, 46 with refs.; Garriguet, Culto (1997) 54–5 with n. 23; Nogales Basarrate, Espectáculos (2000) 25–35, 56–60, 86–7; Panzram, *o.c.* 253–7, 260, 273–4.

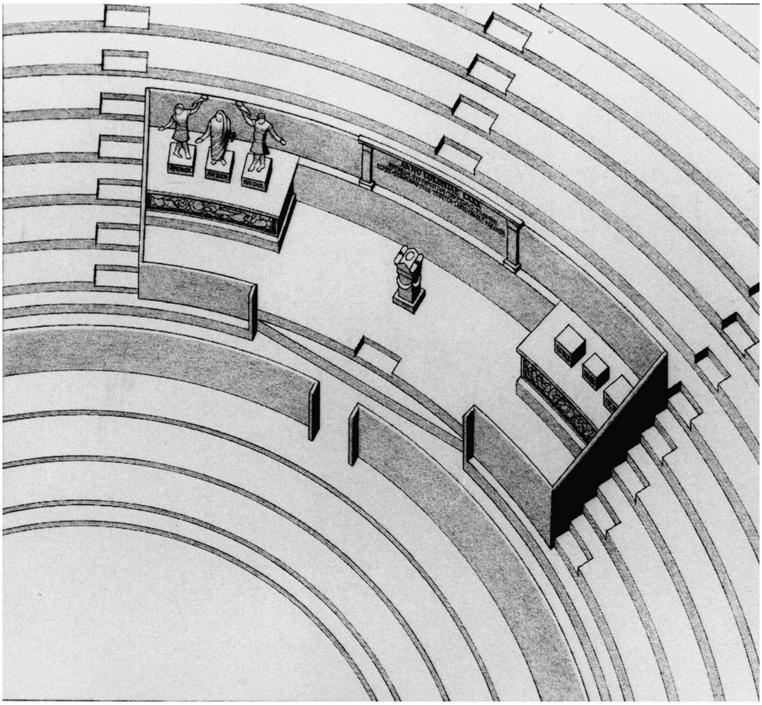

Plate 92. Sketch of *sacrarium* in *ima cavea* of theatre at Mérida according to W. Trillmich.

*cavea ca.* 126 by 102m, with a conjectural seating capacity of 15,000[55] (Pl. 91). The theatre divides into three tiers—*imma cavea, media cavea, summa cavea*—to accommodate the different social classes of the day and could hold more than 5,500 spectators, who could all be quickly evacuated by an efficient system of *vomitoria.* Both buildings benefited from extensive use of marble during renovations undertaken in the late Augustan to Julio-Claudian period, when the civic forum by the "Temple of Diana" was enlarged by a precinct lavishly trimmed with marble.[56] Work on the theatre culminated about the middle of the first century A.D. with construction of a *pulpitum* and completion of the spectacular *scaenae frons* (Vol. II, 1, PL. XCVIIb),[57] which was adorned with a group of Julio-Claudian statues including a masculine figure of the *Hüfmantel* type, therefore deified. Of particular interest among later developments is the presence of a small room at the lower centre of the *ima cavea* of the theatre (Pl. 92), evidently a cult place of the *Lares et imagines*, which a Trajanic inscription engraved in the 130th year of the Colonia Augusta Emerita relates in some way to the *provincia Lusitania*. In addition there are six small statue bases in marble with an inscription *Aug(usto) sacr(um)* on their front faces, an altar, and assorted fragments of reliefs. Conceivably the *sacrarium* was connected with sacrifices and the transportation of imperial images on festival days (see further below pp. 278–9, 344).[58]

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[55] For details of the amphitheatre see now Nogales Basarrate, Espectáculos (2000) 34–40, 61–73, 87–8.

[56] Trillmich (1990) 309–10.

[57] See in general Durán (1998) 35ff.

As for the circus, this lay well away from the provincial centre as was probably the case likewise at Lugdunum, but must still have drawn large holiday crowds to cheer on chariot races at such occasions as imperial festivals. Its date of construction is unknown but has been considered perhaps decades later than that of the theatre and amphitheatre, though in any event the earliest in Spain.[59] An inscription testifies that it was restored between 337 and 340 (*AE*, 1927, 165), just after work on the theatre had been completed between 333 and 335,[60] at which point it must have rivalled the most elaborate circuses of the Roman world. The architectural data again fall outside the scope of the discussion but it may be observed that the surface area measures 30,000m$^2$, the arena *ca.* 404 by 96m, and that the structure could hold 30,000 or more spectators. Today the circus is the largest, one of the best preserved, and the most fully excavated in the Iberian peninsula. In common with the amphitheatre, if not also the theatre, it will undoubtedly have played an important role in celebrating the festivals of the ruler cult. It follows that from the perspective of the imperial worship these physical facilities for entertainment at Mérida can be viewed as extensions of the provincial enclave of Lusitania.

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[58] Vol. III, 2, 153, n. 38; Alvarez (1986) 156, 158; Trillmich (1989/90) 87–102; *id.*, Novedades (1993) 116–17; Garriguet (1998) 49–59, 80; Saquette (1997) 27; Nogales Basarrate, Altar (2000) 34–5; *ead.*, Espectáculos (2000) 34; Panzram (2002) 273, 286. For the rite see Vol. II, 1, 558ff. See now Alvarez–Nogales Basarrate (2003).

[59] Humphrey (1986) 362–76 with fig. 175 *et passim*; Nogales Basarrate, Espectáculos (2000) 44–7, 73–8, 88–91.

[60] Chastagnol (1976) with fig. 1; cf. Richmond (1930) pl. VIIIB (facing p. 113). On the Constantinian reconstruction of the theatre at Mérida, in reality limited to repairs or minor modifications, see Thomas–Witschel (1992) 176–7; further Saquete (1997) 168.

## CHAPTER THREE

# CORDUBA

The provincial centre at Corduba presents a radically different picture in that first one, later both of two existing forums of the city were evidently utilized for provincial purposes. This is a very different situation from what one finds at Tarraco or by Lugdunum, where a new enclave was plainly created *ad hoc* to serve as the seat of the provincial cult and headquarters of the provincial council, but it may be paralleled at Emerita if the supposed provincial zone of the city coincided with a plaza that belonged to the foundation plan of the settlement (above, pp. 47–61). For a possible explanation of this peculiar feature of the provincial centre of Baetica attention must focus in the first place on the historical development of Corduba as the capital city of Hispania Ulterior.[1]

Strabo's reference to Corduba as Μαρκέλλου κτίσμα (3, 2, 1) would appear to link the foundation of the city with the presence of M. Claudius Marcellus in Spain, therefore in 169/8 (as *praetor* and *propraetor*) or 152/1 B.C. (as *consul* and *proconsul*).[2] As the first ἀποικία established in the valley of the river Baetis, it may have been originally a Latin colony which included a *conventus civium Romanorum*,[3] but following its destruction at the hands of Caesar's troops after Munda the city was elevated to the status of *colonia civium Romanorum*; the step is attributable

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[1] For the background see García y Bellido (1959) 451–4; Blanco Freijeiro-Corzo Sánchez (1976) 139ff. The best recent discussion is by Stylow (1996) 77ff. with earlier bibliography (n. 1). For a helpful summary of the early history and monumentalization of Corduba see now A. Ventura Villanueva in Vaquerizo (1996) 26–9; cf. Ventura (1996) 135ff.

[2] So Stylow (1990) 262–3; *id.* (1996) 79–80, rejecting the argument of Griffin (1972) 17ff., that Strabo's text is in error and Augustus was responsible for raising the city to the status of *colonia*. For the later date see Fear (1996) 15. For arguments in favour of an earlier foundation about the end of the third century B.C. see Canto (1997) 255ff., 274–5. On the foundation and early development of Cordoba see now Panzram (2002) 129–45, 221.

[3] On the difficulties in interpreting the ancient evidence see Fear, *o.c.* 37–8, 41, 45, 72, suggesting that Corduba had no specific Roman legal status in the Republican period.

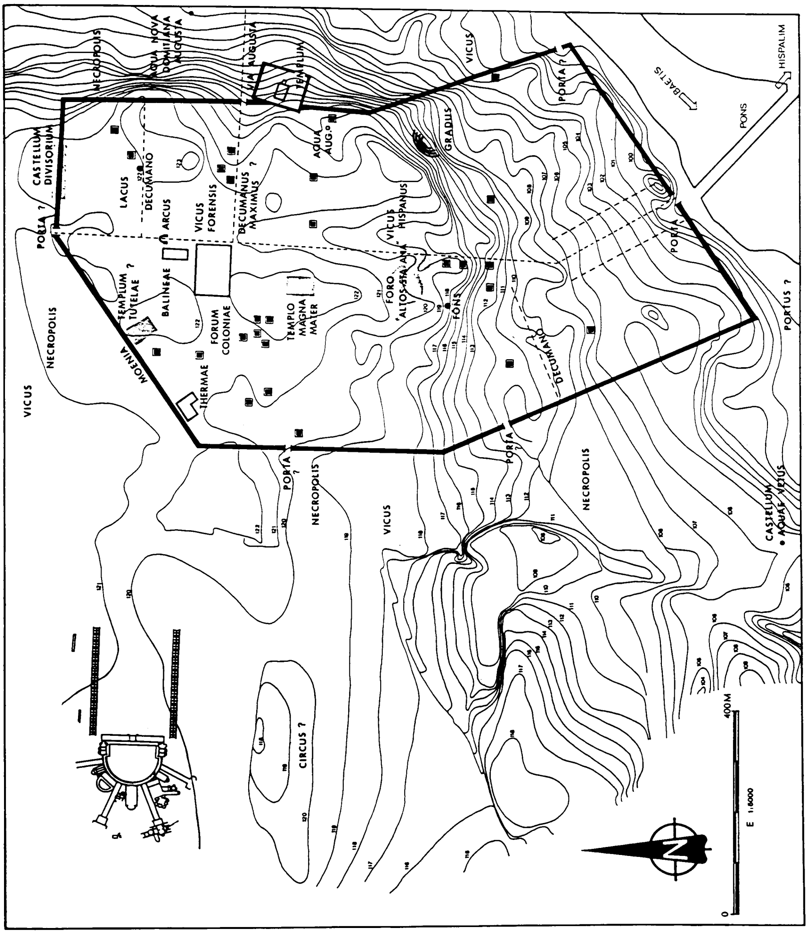
NECROPOLIS
AQUA NOVA DOMITIANA AUGUSTA
VIA AUGUSTA
TEMPLUM
VICUS
PORTA ?
BAETIS
HISPALIM
PONS
CASTELLUM DIVISORIUM
LACUS
DECUMANO
ARCUS
VICUS FORENSIS
DECUMANUS MAXIMUS ?
AQUA AUG.º
GRADUS
VICUS HISPANUS
FORO 'ALTOS STA ANA'
FONS
TEMPLO MAGNA MATER
FORUM COLONIAE
BALINEAE
TEMPLUM TUTELAE ?
MOENIA
THERMAE
NECROPOLIS
VICUS
PORTA
PORTUS ?
DECUMANO
PORTA ?
NECROPOLIS
VICUS
NECROPOLIS
CIRCUS ?
CASTELLUM AQUAE VETUS
400M
0

Plate 93. Plan of Corduba showing *vicus forensis* and *vicus hispanus*.

to Caesar in 45 B.C. though the significance of its new name *colonia Patricia* (Pliny, *N.H.* 3, 10) is disputed.[4] In any event Augustus was responsible for a deduction of veterans at some point between 18 and 2 B.C., possibly in 15/14 or soon afterwards,[5] and with the re-population of the city Roman citizens were enrolled in either of two tribes: the Sergia, in which the descendants of Roman citizens of the Latin colony had been registered *ab initio*, and a new tribe, the Galeria, which evidently catered for the new-comers.[6] Thanks to the administrative reforms of Augustus, Corduba now became the capital of Baetica, seat of the *proconsul*, and the centre of the *conventus iuridicus Cordubensis*.

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[4] Whereas Stylow, (1996) *ibid.* connects the name with Caesar rather than Augustus, Canto (1997) 269ff., 278 proposes a link with the senate. See further Panzram (2002) 136–7, 144.

[5] Cf. Octavian's comparable deduction at Carthage in 29 B.C.: Fishwick, Carthage (1995) 235ff. On the Augustan colony at Corduba see Carillo–Hidalgo–Murillo–Ventura (1998) 31–2.

### i. *The North Forum*

Of particular interest for present purposes is Strabo's confirmation (*ibid.*) that the town was primarily a civilian rather a military foundation, originally colonized by chosen individuals from the Ῥωμαίοι and the indigenous inhabitants: ᾤκησάν τε ἐξ ἀϱχῆς Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωϱίων ἄνδϱες ἐπίλεκτοι. It was long believed that a recollection of the original settlement might be preserved in the later existence of two *vici*, presumably urban wards or subdivisions, called *vicus forensis* and *vicus hispanus*—therefore an Italian quarter and a Spanish quarter (Pl. 93).[7] As these are associated with the two main forums of Corduba, the theory arose of an original bipartition of Corduba supposedly founded as a *dipolis* in which the later existence of the two *vici*, each with its own square, reflected the dual ethnicity of the original settlement. The ghost of this misconception has now been definitively laid by A. U. Stylow, who notes that the transverse wall which purportedly separated the two *vici* could be the substructure of what later became the "provincial" forum (below, pp. 98–101) and that so far there is no archaeological proof these were the only *vici* of the city or that they were originally districts of habitation settled by the two ethnic groups which participated in the foundation.[8] As its name confirms, the forum within the *vicus forensis* must have been the principal city centre under the early principate, the forum *par excellence*; but while the south plaza lies within the limits of the old town, it is far from certain that it pre-existed the Augustan extension of the town and its walls down to the river and bridge. If it did not, the *vicus hispanus* may have taken its name from this development.

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[6] On the problem of the double tribes Sergia and Galeria see in general Stylow's excursus, *o.c.* 80–2; Panzram (2002) 146–7.

[7] Curchin (1983) 329–30, 335. For the division into *vici* see Carillo–Hidalgo–Murillo–Ventura, *o.c.* 34, noting that a *pagus Augustus* is documented outside the city walls (*CIL* $2^2$/7, 231).

[8] *Id.* (1996) 78–9, observing that along with Roman citizens the term Ῥωμαίοι could include Italians and the sons of Roman soldiers and local women. See further Stylow (1990) 278–9, noting that the find-spot of the inscribed pedestal to L. Axius Naso set up by the *vicani vici Hispani* (below, pp. 83–5) is clearly north of the supposed line of division between the two quarters. Fear (1999) 214–15, still accepts a native-Roman divide at Corduba.

In any event the *vicus forensis* is directly connected with the civic forum, the exact location of which has been problematic.[9] Cicero alludes to the existence of a forum at Corduba, where in 113 B.C. justice was dispensed by L. Calpurnius Piso seated on a *sella* (*In Verrem*, 2, 4, 56), and the *basilica* of Corduba is mentioned in connection with an attempt on the life of Q. Cassius Longinus in 48 B.C. (Caes., *Bell. Alex.* 53, 2). So while the chronology is uncertain, it is clear that the existence of a forum goes back to the Republican period, in all probability to the original settlement. The remains that have been recovered, notably in the shape of decorative elements, nevertheless belong to the forum in its Augustan phase, as reconstructed after Munda on the original site.[10] Whereas tradition had associated the colonial forum with the present plaza de las Tendilllas, the excavations begun in their modern series by S. de los Santos Gener in 1945–7 have now located it more exactly at the intersection of Calle Cruz Conde and Calle Góngora, that is at the centre of the modern city. Because of the difficulties in exploring the site—compounded by deliberate destruction or concealment of archaeological remains to facilitate modern building—the exact shape and extensions of the forum have proved elusive, but west of and parallel to the *cardo maximus* excavations in the houses of adjacent streets have brought to light a large plaza paved with flags. The western limit of this can now be defined more precisely in the light of excavations at Calle Góngora, no. 8.[11] At its northern limit a *porticus* with entrance to a baths dates from the Republican period, as does a building on the east side terminating in an apse, very possibly the *basilica*. About 100m to the north an arch on the *cardo maximus* must have given a magnificent entry, while the southern limit is thought to

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[9] Jiménez (1987) 54–7; *id.* (1989) 189–94; Stylow (1990) 272–3 with the archaeological background; Jiménez (1998) 16 with refs. For a useful summary see now C. Márquez in Vaquerizo (1996) 30–3; *id.*, Functión (1998) 64, 66–8. On the problematic distinction between the civic and the provincial forum at Corduba see Fear (1996) 172, 180–1, 189.

[10] On the distinction between the Republican forum and its Augustan successor see Carillo–Hidalgo–Murillo–Ventura (1998) 29. For an overview of iconographic pieces from the zone, some of colossal size, see *eid.*, *o.c.* 38–9, noting in particular the Claudian programme.

[11] See now Aparicio–Ventura (1996) 251–4. On the north forum see in general Panzram (2002) 141, 149, 168, 183, 189, 191–4, 221.

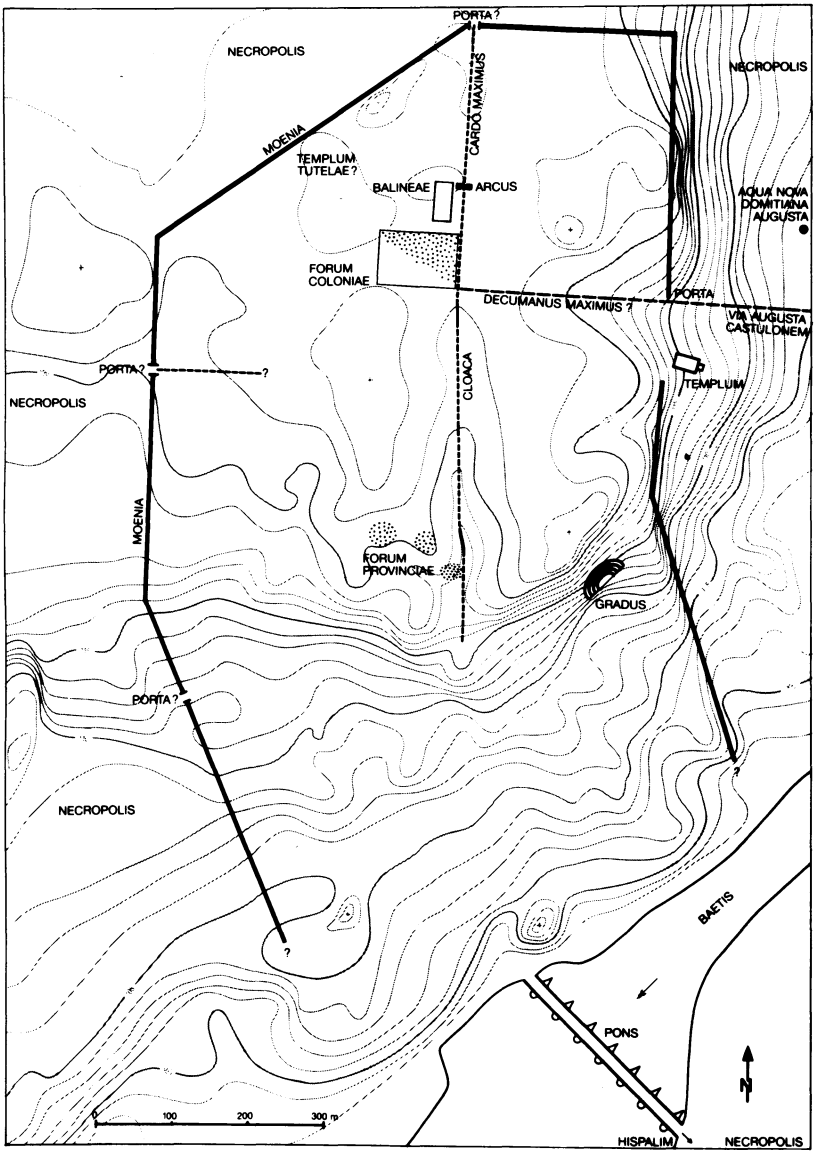
PORTA ?
NECROPOLIS
CARDO MAXIMUS
MOENIA
TEMPLUM TUTELAE ?
BALINEAE
ARCUS
NECROPOLIS
AQUA NOVA DOMITIANA AUGUSTA
FORUM COLONIAE
DECUMANUS MAXIMUS ?
PORTA
VIA AUGUSTA CASTULONEM
PORTA ?
?
TEMPLUM
NECROPOLIS
CLOACA
MOENIA
FORUM PROVINCIAE
GRADUS
PORTA ?
?
NECROPOLIS
?
BAETIS
PONS
N
0
100
200
300 m
HISPALIM
NECROPOLIS

Plate 94. Plan of Corduba showing *forum coloniae* and *forum provinciae*.

Plate 95. Seated masculine torso, possibly of deified emperor represented as Jupiter enthroned.

have been the continuation of the *decumanus maximus*. Evidently the civic forum was the dominant feature of this part of the town as attested by an inscription set up by the *vicani vici forensis* in honour of L. Axius Naso (*CIL* 2²/7, 272).[12] To judge from its place of discovery, this will have stood on the actual forum (Pl. 94).

Perhaps the most striking feature of the Augustan remains is that no hard data have yet emerged relating to a temple of any sort on the colonial forum nor to the cult it might have served.[13] More particularly, it is not known if there was a Republican Capitolium, though the possibility of a temple, conceivably the Capitolium, has been raised by Ramirez de las Casas-Deza in connection with remains by the basilica in the neighbourhood of the plaza of San Miguel.[14] Analogy might suggest that the civic forum will have been the site of the municipal cult but

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[12] Knapp (1981) 134–44; Panzram (2002) 150 with n. 119. See further below, n. 36. For commentary and photographs of the two copies of the inscription from both the north and south forums see A. Ventura in Vaquerizo (1996) 74–7.

[13] Jiménez (1989–90) 78ff.; *id.* (1991) 129–30.

[14] Bendala's survey (1989–90) omits all mention of a possible Capitolium at Corduba.

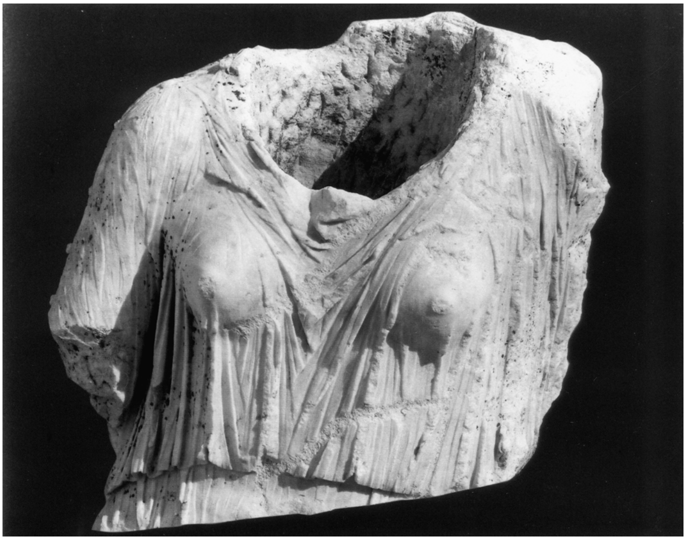

Plate 96. Seated feminine torso, possibily of Livia assimilated to Ceres or Juno.

until very recently inscriptions and Julio-Claudian scuptured remains pointed exclusively to the second plaza in the *vicus hispanus* in this connection (below, pp. 83–6). New evidence providing a fresh slant on the picture has recently come to light, however, with recognition of the cultic significance of two broken statues of slightly larger than human size that originate from a public building located between Calle San Álvaro and Plaza Mármol de Banuelos on the east side of the colonial forum.[15] The fragments themselves were found at no. 4 Calle San Álvaro, in the south-east angle of the plaza between Calles Cruz Conde and Góngora, so in a zone where remains of statues and vestiges of constructions, particularly at no. 8 in the same street, had been unearthed by excavations conducted at various times between 1928 and 1990.

The first remnant is of Claudian date and clearly part of a male torso clad in a *himation* (Pl. 95). The inferred pose of the original seated figure in the guise of Jupiter enthroned together with remains of the *infula* by which the *corona civica* was attached suggest an emperor, very possibly Divus Augustus.[16] The female figure, likewise of Claudian date, is plainly that of a deified empress in the widely diffused type of a seated female divinity, so may well have represented Diva Augusta, the deified Livia, as Ceres or Juno (Pl. 96).[17] As remnants from similar statues portraying emperors or members of the imperial house occur often enough at forums in a cultic context—a temple, basilica, Augusteum, the *schola* of the Augustales[18]—everything suggests that the two statues will have originally stood in some sort of cult place associated with the public building documented at no. 8, Calle San Álvaro.[19] Whether this was an Augusteum of some form (in the basilica?) remains uncertain but the existence of an early municipal temple in the zone looks unlikely given the huge expenditures on the temple in Calle Claudio Marcelo, construction of which began under Claudius (below, pp. 94–6). By the same reasoning an Augusteum may likewise have housed the dynastic statues found by the lower forum (below, pp. 85–6). What can be said with certainty is that there is no trace of a municipal temple on coins of Corduba in the Augustan/Julio-Claudian period, though there are references to priestly instruments perhaps commemorating Augustus' accession to the office of *pontifex maximus*.[20] Nor can the existence of a temple dedicated to Augustus be inferred from a late-Augustan, circular base inscribed *Augusto sacrum* (*CIL* $2^2$/7, 253), a formula well in evidence elsewhere.[21] If the stone originates from the theatre, however, as has recently been argued (below, p. 103), it could relate to a *sacrarium* like that in the theatre of Emerita, where the pedestals of the Trajanic *sacrarium* bear a similar inscription (above, p. 69).[22]

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[15] J. A. Garriguet, M. T. Barbado, I. López in Vaquerizo (1996) 58–9; Garriguet, Edificio (1997) 75ff.; *id.*, Culto (1997) 56 with refs.; I. López, J. A. Garriguet in Vaquerizo (1996) 60–1; Carillo–Hidalgo–Murillo–Ventura (1998) 39; Panzram (2002) 149–50.

[16] López–Garriguet (2000) 49–50, no. 3.

Epigraphical testimony from the area reaches from the early first century A.D down to the middle of the fourth with a predominance of statue pedestals.[23] As could be expected, there are dedications by the colony to local worthies and magistrates of the city, including [.] Iulius Gallus Mummianus (*CIL* $2^2/7$, 282: early second century) and M. Helvius Rufus (*CIL* $2^2/7$, 296: late second/early third century), each of whom became provincial *flamen*. To these can now be added a recently published Severan statue base to L. Licinius Montanus Sarapio, *flamen Divorum Augustorum provinciae Baeticae*, dedicated by the *ordo decurionum* of his native Malaca; presumably the missing lines at the end of the text will have noted that permission to erect a *statua ahenea* had been granted by the decurions of Corduba, his adoptive *patria*.[24] Of more direct concern is that the provincial council erected on the colonial forum a statue to the provincial *flamen* L. Cominius Iulianus from Ilurco (*CIL* $2^2/7$, 293; Vol. III, 1, Pl. 14: A.D. 191), also a pedestal of Philippus Arabs (*CIL* $2^2/7$, 255; Vol. III, 2, Pl. 63: between 1st January and 9th December, A.D. 245), unusually dated by the provincial flaminate of L. Valerius Fuscinus. In addition, what look to be three pedestals honour Gallienus (A.D. 253–68) and his wife Cornelia Salonina, but whereas that of Gallienus (*CIL* $2^2/7$, 257) was dedicated by the city, one statue of Salonina was erected by the provincial council (*CIL* $2^2/7$, 258: A.D. 258–9), the other by the *res publica Cordubensis*.[25] Otherwise the base has survived of a statue of Dea Colonia Patricia set up by L. Iunius Paulinus, *flamen* of the colony and of the province and an important benefactor of the Severan period (*CIL* $2^2/7$, 221; Vol. III, 2, Pl. 66). A notable series of statues of the emperor, on the other hand, includes pedestals to Constantius Chlorus, Constantine and Constantine II, all set up by the provincial governor (*CIL* $2^2/7$, 261–5 with dates).

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[17] López–Garriguet, *o.c.* 54–5, no. 7.

[18] For evidence at Mérida, Lepcis Magna, Rusellae and elsewhere see Garriguet, Edificio (1997) 79. See further Vol. II, 1, 523–5.

[19] Cf. the *aedes Augusti* within the basilica at Tarraco: Fishwick, Tarraco (1996) 170–2. A small fragment of a relief showing a *camillus* or assistant of the priest during sacrifice originates from Calle Góngora, therefore the zone of the colonial forum. Whether this could be connected with the imperial cult is impossible to say. For analysis see J. A. Garriguet in Vaquerizo (1996) 62–3; *id.*, Culto (1997) 56–7, suggesting the piece may have adorned some monument of the colonial forum.

[20] Gil (1966) 421; Jiménez (1989–90) 78; *RPC* 87, nos. 130–1 (Plate 10). On the puzzling lack of numismatic evidence for monuments of Corduba linked to the cult of the emperor see Garriguet, Culto (1997) 47–8.

[21] Vol. II, 1, 443–5.

[22] Ventura (1996) 164; cf. Garriguet, Culto (1997) 51, 57. On the *sacellum* at the Emerita theatre see in particular Trillmich (1989/90).

## ii. *The New Forum*

An entirely new dimension has recently been added to the picture by the progress of archaeological exploration in the zone of Calle Morería. As originally divined by C. Márquez and confirmed by the latest excavations,[26] the area adjoining the south side of the colonial forum was evidently the site of a second plaza that corresponds closely in date and character with the well-known *forum adiectum* of Arles.[27] The dominant feature of this zone is an architectural scheme plainly modelled on that of the Forum Augustum at Rome: a gigantic temple enclosed by a portico, the interior of which was equipped with niches that could well have housed statues such as those of the *summi viri*. The key to the identity of the temple is an architectonic fragment that looks to be the centre part of a marble antefix, the design of which approximates to that of the antefixes adorning the temple of Mars Ultor. The estimated dimensions of this antefix link it in turn with the various fragments of a previously published colossal capital that copies the capitals of the Forum Augustum; while this is of unknown origin, its style and size suggest it formed part of the same complex.[28] To these traces can now be added part of a column encountered on the new site of the Colegio de Abogados.[29] The vestige belongs to the first century A.D. and with a diameter of 1.4m is the largest column yet encountered at Cordoba, in fact one of the biggest ever found in Spain. First impressions suggest this could originate from the *podium* of a public building, to all appearances a temple. These various colossal traces compare with an already published capital from Calle Cruz Conde that also resembles the capitals of the Mars Ultor temple, though, as this last fragment is approximately two-thirds the size of the colossal remnant, it may rather come from the portico that surrounded the plaza.[30] The existence of such a structure is confirmed by two fragments of a column appropriate to a portico which, as other traces indicate, must have been furnished with niches to lodge statues.

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[23] For a list of inscriptions from the two *fora* see the helpful inventory of Stylow (1990) 279–81; further Garriguet, Culto (1997) 50. See further Vol. III, 2, 218–23.

[24] Aparicio–Ventura (1996) 254–8.

[25] Unpublished: information kindly supplied by A. V. Stylow.

[26] Márquez, Decoración (1998) 176–8 with numerous references; *id.*, Función (1998) 65, 72–4; Jiménez (1998) 16; Fishwick, Forum (2000) 96–7; Panzram (2002) 150–2, 163, 169.

In corroboration of the architectonic evidence one can call with equal authority on various iconographic fragments. By far the most impressive of these is the colossal mailed torso of the Colección Tienda, which Trillmich has recently identified as Aeneas carrying Anchises (Pl. 97)—a copy, therefore, of the statue at the Forum Augustum, a further

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[27] Gros, Architecture (1996) 231.

[28] Márquez, Decoración (1998) 126–7 with refs.

[29] For a newspaper report of the discovery see *Diario Cordoba*, Wednesday, 16 September 1998, p. 6.

[30] On the basis of the similar dimensions of these traces to elements of the temples of Castor and Concordia in the Forum Romanum Márquez hypothetizes that members of a workshop no longer employed at Rome migrated to Corduba, where they erected the enormous edifice on the *forum adiectum*: *o.c.* 177.

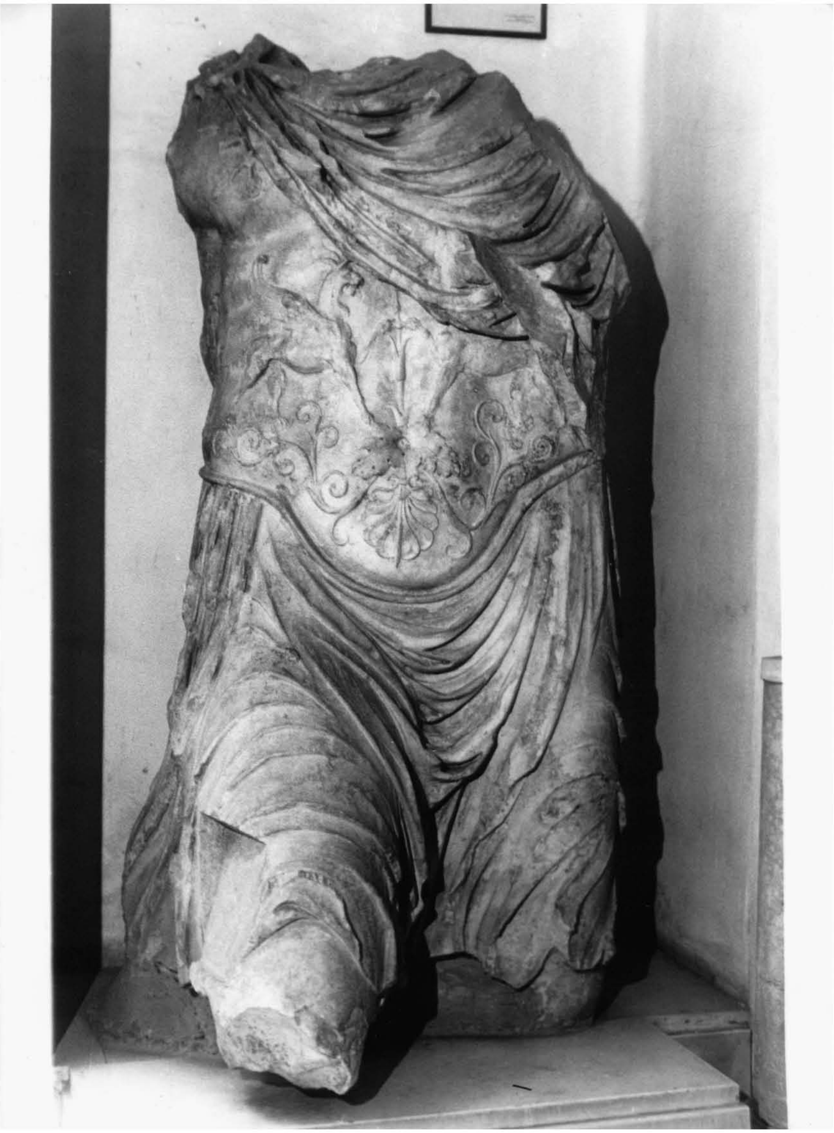

Plate 97. Fragmentary colossal statue recovered from Calle Morería, Córdoba.

example of which occurs at Emerita (above, p. 63).[31] Along with other fragments this was found in Calle Morería, presumably on the most important side of the plaza, where the temple was situated; its Claudian chronology confirms that the overall design of the complex culminated in the Julio-Claudian era. No representation of Jupiter Ammon, Medusa, or caryatids has so far appeared, though a fragment of a *clipeus* has emerged, analogous to the Jupiter Ammon or Medusa masks that occur in relative profusion at Emerita and Tarraco,[32] but Trillmich's earlier suggestion that the colonial forum, like the "marble forum" of Emerita or the precinct on the upper terrace at Tarraco, may have imitated the decorative programme of the Forum Augustum now looks to be confirmed on the adjacent *forum novum*. It might be added that in a new study of the sculpture of Colonia Patricia I. López proposes that twelve Claudian *statuae togatae* of great size and quality, found out of context in the Ronda de los Tejares, were originally located in one of the public spaces of the city, where they represented members of the imperial family as well as the *summi viri* of the Forum Augustum.[33]

The composite picture all this suggests, then, is that the *forum adiectum* of Corduba was the site of a replica of the octostyle temple of Mars Ultor, flanked by a portico that bordered the plaza and was adorned with statues. As for the classification of the temple, its place within the public monuments of Corduba, no inscription has yet accrued to throw much-needed light on the question. All that seems clear for the moment is that the structure must have been dedicated to Divus Augustus. This conclusion is imposed by both its date of construction and the fact that similar complexes are linked with the cult of the emperor; that at Tarraco in particular was clearly intended in its original conception to serve the cult of Divus Augustus as shown by the legends of the relevant coins of Tiberius. It has been suggested that the Corduba temple may have served as the colonial temple, the centre of the civic imperial cult of Corduba, but a patent difficulty here is that a municipal temple is commonly, if not invariably, placed on the central forum of a city as notably at Emerita. If the parallel complex in the "marble forum" at the capital of Lusitania likewise centred on a replica of the Mars Ultor temple, a likely enough inference in light of the similar schemes at Corduba and Tarraco, then the inferred Emerita temple will have been a separate shrine (presumably also of Divus Augustus) since the municipal temple dating from the lifetime of Augustus was plainly the mis-named Temple of Diana on the central forum. In that case the newly discovered temple in the *forum adiectum* at Cordoba, modelled as it apparently is on the temple of Mars Ultor, will likewise have been a distinct, individual shrine of Divus Augustus,[34] especially when there is reason to believe that a building of some sort, possibly incorporating an Augusteum, accommodated the civic worship of Corduba on the central colonial forum, perhaps also on the southern plaza in the *vicus Hispanus* (below). If this conclusion is correct, it has an obvious bearing on the status of the Claudian temple in Calle Claudio Marcelo, construction of which began too early for it to have served the provincial cult (below, pp. 94–6).

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[31] Trillmich (1996) 183–9, cf. 304–11, noting a caryatid also at Santiponce, Seville; *id.*, Hispanien (1993) 52. See now D. Vaquerizo in Vaquerizo (1996) 34–7; cf. earlier León (1990). For an overview see Garriguet, Culto (1997) 56; Carillo–Hidalgo–Murillo–Ventura (1998) 38; López–Garriguet (2000) 51, no. 4; Panzram (2002) 151.

[32] Trillmich (1996) 183. The vestige originates from the zone of the theatre now identified near the plaza of Jerónimo Páez. See most recently Ventura (1997) 33–7.

[33] Carillo–Hidalgo–Murillo–Ventura (1998) *ibid.* n. 24, citing Lopez (1997) 349–50. For the possibiity of a similar decorative programme common to all three copies of the Forum Augustum at Tarraco, Emerita and Corduba see above, p. 28, n. 85; p. 63. with nn. 40–3.

### iii. *The South Forum*

A second plaza to the south in the zone of Calles Jesús y María and Ángel de Saavedra is of particular relevance for its link with the province.[35] It was at the rear of this area that a second pedestal was recovered honouring L. Axius Naso (cf. above, p. 76) but dedicated

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[34] The colossal temple at Corduba, like its inferred counterpart at Emerita, strongly suggests that the example given to all the provinces in A.D. 15 (Tac., *Ann.* 1, 78: above, p. 5) was the erection of a temple of Divus Augustus—whether at the provincial or municipal level. Conceivably the Corduba temple was built (at the prompting of the provincial governor?), following the failure of the embassy of A.D. 25, and supported by *pecunia publica* of the colony. If so, this would go far to explaining why the institution of a provincial cult of Baetica was delayed until the reign of Vespasian and construction of a provincial temple not undertaken until the reign of Hadrian, perhaps (below, n. 45). For before the deification of Claudius at least a provincial temple at Corduba would have been a reduplication at the provincial level of an existing temple to Divus Augustus at the civic. At Emerita in contrast a tetrastyle provincial temple dedicated to Divus Augustus evidently preceded construction of the "marble forum" (above, pp. 41–2, 63–5).

[35] Jiménez (1987) 57–8; *id.* (1994) 248; (1998) 17–19 with refs.; Stylow, (1990) 274–82; Márquez, Función (1998) 64–5, 68–9; Panzram (2002) 152–4, 163, 183–4, 189, 193–4, 221.

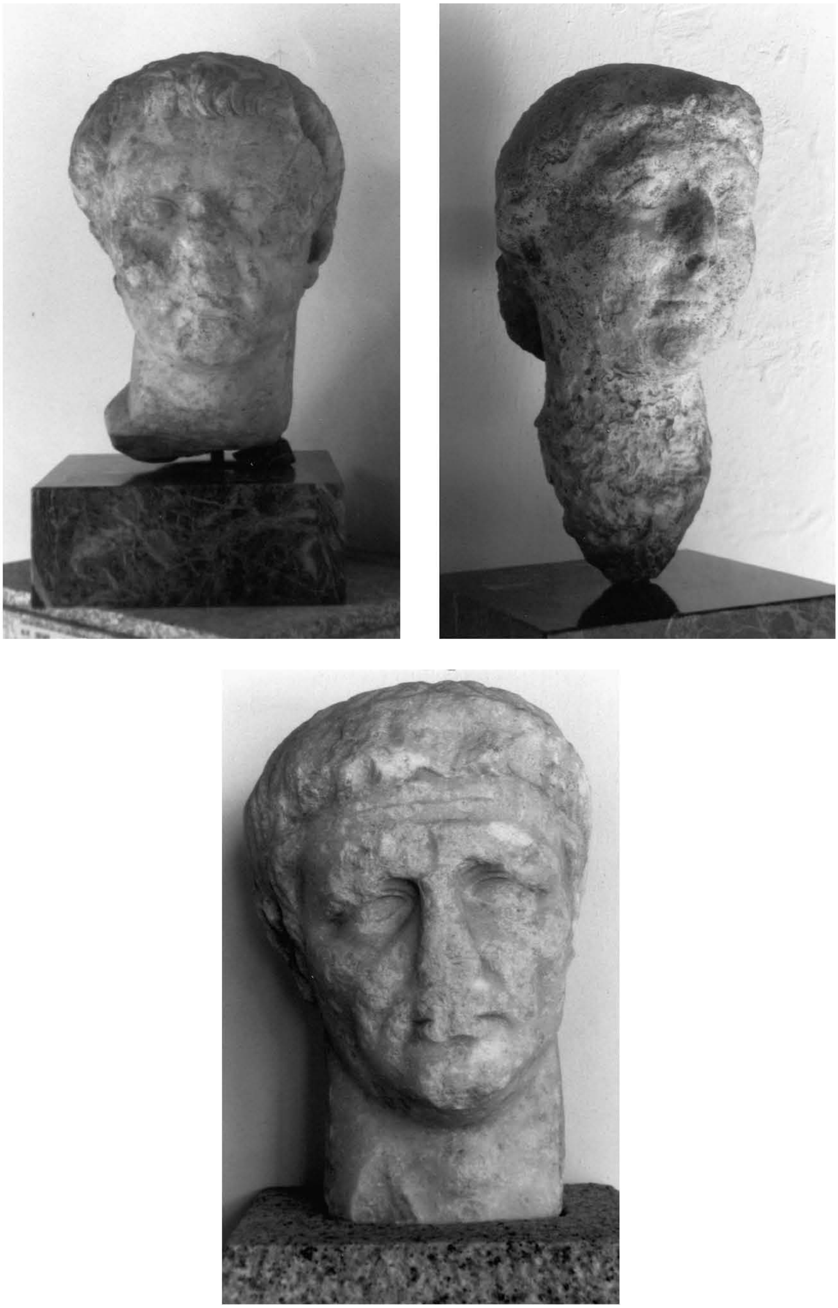

Plate 98. Portraits of Tiberius, Livia (a, b) and perhaps Claudius (c) found at Córdoba.

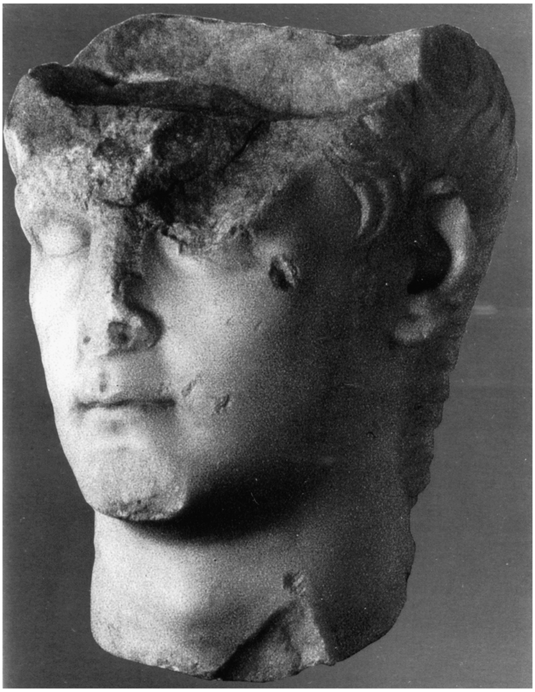

Plate 99. Portrait of Caligula.

in this case by the *vicani vici hispani* (*CIL* $2^2/7$, 273).[36] The view that a further public plaza will have corresponded to the *vicus hispanus* is strengthened by the nearby discovery—more precisely in the zone of Altos de Santa Ana—of several inscriptions along with portraits of Tiberius and Livia (Pl. 98a,b), though these lack a specific context. Whether a head perhaps representing Caligula came from the vicinity is unknown (Pl. 99),[37] but it looks unlikely that a head of Claudius (Pl. 98c) could also belong with the group as the piece was found on

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[36] Knapp (1981) 134–44. The statue bases celebrating L. Axius Naso are traditionally dated to *ca.* A.D. 14 on the basis of identification with the homonymous proconsul of Cyprus in A.D. 29 (*PIR*$^2$ A 1691). For the view that letter forms and profiles, in particular the G, X and Q of 272, are incompatible with a pre-Claudian period see the arguments of A. U. Stylow *ad CIL* $2^2/7$, 272–3, proposing a date as late as Nero's reign.

[37] On the heads of Tiberius, Livia, Caligula(?) and Claudius see now J. Garriguet in Vaquerizo (1996) 50–7. For the decorative sculpture of the region of Altos de Santa Ana, particularly in the Julio-Claudian period, see in general Carillo–Hidalgo–Murillo–Ventura (1998) 39 with refs., noting that representations of ten figures, including five feminine statues, possibly deified, will have required a porticoed space on both sides of Calle Ángel de Saavedra.

Plate 100. Fragment of capital from no. 19. Calle Angel de Saavedra, Córdoba.

the grounds of the present Parque Cruz Conde (outside the walls of the Roman city), far enough away therefore from the lower forum. These combined traces lead Stylow to infer that here will have been the original centre of the colonial cult, yet if the inscription of the quaestor L. Axius Naso was repeated at both plazas, it seems questionable that the municipal cult would have been associated solely with the south zone. In view of the new evidence suggesting the north forum was used at an early stage for civic worship (above, pp. 77–8), the possibility now arises that *both* forums were the site of the municipal cult of the emperor—or at least down to the time when the temple in Calle Claudio Marcelo was put into cultic service. The detailed evolution of the civic worship, which falls outside the scope of the present discussion, remains to be worked out in detail.[38]

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[38] For the hypthesis that about the middle of the first century a temple of Diana Augusta, subsequently reconstructed or modified at the beginning of the third century, stood in the zone of the "provincial forum" see Márquez, Decoración (1998) 181–2. The thesis is based on a decorated pedestal with a dedication to Diana Augusta (*CIL* $2^2/7$, 222) apparently erected at the time of the building's *refectio*. Excavations on the premises of no. 10 Calle Ángel de Saavedra appear to offer support; cf. Carillo–Hidalgo–Murillo–Ventura (1998) 39 with refs. If Márquez is right, the term *Augusta* would imply that the temple served the Diana who operated within the sphere of the emperor, who protected the emperor: a clear facet of municipal worship. See Vol. II, 1, 446–54.

The physical characteristics of the south zone are reasonably clear, if less well defined than those of the colonial forum.[39] While fragments of capitals have appeared at no. 19, Calle Ángel de Saavedra (Pl. 100), the key piece of evidence comes from house no. 2 on Calle Jesús y María, where the lowest structure of a condominium has produced the paving of a great plaza with rectangular flags resembling those from the municipal forum; these consist to a large extent of re-used architectonic elements placed over a foundation of miscellaneous construction material, none of it marble. There is no trace of earlier Republican structures and the fact that the first to the third centuries are a stratigraphic void emphasizes that the plaza was an open expanse in the high empire. Below the *cardo maximus* the area is crossed or bordered by the *cloaca maxima*, but whether the plaza ended to the east in the *cardo maximus*, like the civic forum, is unknown. The northern limit is in any event set by a wall, its upper part insulated against damp by a horizontal sheet of lead. The southern and western extensions are likewise uncertain, though the latter reached at least to the Calle Barroso; the colossal Roman fountain found *in situ* at a site in the Calle Saravia was presumably situated in the south-west angle of the plaza.

The central and most controversial question for the present discussion is what purpose the plaza served. Whereas it was suggested by A. M. Vicent and A. Marcus Pous that the "principal" forum by Calles Cruz Conde and San Miguel should be identified with the provincial centre, the south plaza being "secondary",[40] Stylow has recently argued that the area by Calles Jesús y María and Ángel de Saavedra was converted under the Flavians into a provincial precinct (Pl. 94).[41] The basis for his view is first and foremost the presence of statue pedestals honouring provincial *flamines*, which characterize this second forum and define its function. These memorials are a more limited group thematically and chronologically than those in the civic forum to the north, running from the mid-second to the mid-third century. Two of them, to C. Antonius Seranus of Iporca (*CIL* $2^2/7$, 291; Vol. III, 1, Pl. 13: A.D. 152) and [...] Fabius [...]dus of Celti (*CIL* $2^2/7$, 295: A.D. 216), were set up by the provincial council, while two others were erected to

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[39] Jiménez (1991) 129–30; Carillo–Hidalgo–Murillo–Ventura (1998) 39–40; Garriguet, Culto (1997) 58–9.

[40] Stylow (1990) 274.

[41] *Id.*, *o.c.* 274ff. with helpful appendix on epigraphical traces from either forum: 279–82; Fear (1996) 189. For a plan of Roman Corduba with the find-spots of inscriptions see now *CIL* $2^2/7$, Tab. Geogr. I.

L. Octavius Licianus of Seria (*CIL* $2^2/7$, 297; Vol. III, 2, Pl. 65: early third century) and Clodius Saturninus of Corduba (*CIL* $2^2/7$, 292: early third century) by the priest's son *d. d* (Vol. III, 2, Pl. 67).[42] That the plaza served as a site for erecting statues of provincial priests is therefore beyond question. Analysis of two sections of an architrave, one of great size, points to the erection in the zone of an important public building of some sort in the first half of the second century,[43] but the key part of the picture is an important trace in the form of a colossal marble capital. To judge from its dimensions—more than a metre high, so comparable to the capitals of the temple in Calle Claudio Marcelo (below, p. 95)[44]—this derives from some public building, perhaps a temple. Regrettably, the shaft where the capital had been found was refilled with concrete before it could be disinterred, so it rests there *in situ*, entombed testimony of a further Roman monument of Corduba. That the structure might have been the provincial temple, as proposed by Stylow, looks nevertheless a possible inference from its proximity to the pedestals of provincial priests, which were likewise found in the region of the lower *forum*.[45]

When the south forum might have assumed this role is less certain but some points look reasonably clear. A provincial imperial temple could not have been constructed until after A.D. 25, when an embassy from Baetica asked and was refused permission to build a temple to Tiberius and Livia, evidently intended to be the centre of a provincial cult (Tac., *Ann.* 4, 37, 1).[46] On the other hand the earliest testimony for provincial *flamines* in Baetica dates from a few years before the last decade of the first century A.D.—a little later than the period generally accepted for the establishment of the provincial cult of Baetica.[47] If the plaza was associated with the provincial cult from the Flavian period, such a step will have coincided with the construction of the Aqua Nova Domitiana Augusta which fed the zone, including the southern forum with its monumental fountain.[48] This chronology is supported and reinforced by other factors. In particular we have seen that marble elements, a material abundant from the Augustan epoch, are entirely missing in the fill beneath the pavement of the south plaza. So if the Julio-Claudian portraits are to be connected with a municipal cult (above, p. 85–6), only from the Flavian period will this forum have been utilized by the province—no doubt in combination with a restructuring or extension of the plaza.

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[42] Found at no. 2 Calle Jesús y María. For commentary see Stylow, *o.c.* 276–7.

[43] Márquez, Decoración (1998) 23–3 (no. 27), 99 (no. 880), 132, 179 with n. 431, noting that the size of the Corduba architrave equals or exceeds that of the coresponding feature of several *aurea templa* at Rome.

[44] Stylow (1990) 274.

[45] The circumstance that the structure is dated on stylistic grounds to the Trajanic-Hadrianic period suggests its possible connection with a visit by Hadrian to Corduba. We know that in A.D. 121 the emperor visited Lugdunumn, where he looks to have commissioned construction of the Temple of the Three Gauls, also Nemausus, where he ordered a temple to be built on receiving news of the death of Plotina (Vol. III, 1, 183–4). Later in the winter of A.D. 121–2 he restored the "Temple of Augustus" at Tarraco (*SHA. Hadr.* 12, 3; see Vol. I, 1, 315–6) and subsequently appears to have journed (via Gades, his mother's *patria*?) to Mauretania, perhaps in the autumn of 122 (cf. *CIL* 16, 169); see further Birley (1997) 144–50. His itinerary must have taken him to Corduba, where as at most places he visited en route he doubtless initiated building projects (Fronto, p. 206: Naber). Little is known of the urban develoment of Corduba in the second century and at present there is nothing archaeological or epigraphical to connect Hadrian directly with Corduba (information kindly provided by J. A. Garriguet Mata) but, if he was in fact responsible for the enormous building on the south forum, this would considerably strengthen the possibility that the structure was a provincial temple comissioned in line with Hadrian's recent building projects at Lugdunum and Tarraco.

The fragmentary architrave and colossal capital, conceivably from the provincial temple, give some idea of the monumental character of this second plaza but otherwise its physical aspect is unknown. As the southern limit stretched at least to Calles Saravia and Álta de Santa Ana at the brink of the decline to the river, Stylow supposes that the southern facade rested on significant substructures, the remains of which have given rise to the hypothesis of an east-west wall dividing the city. In any event the south forum with its inferred temple must have been as impressive a sight from afar as the temple in Calle Claudio Marcelo. It would appear from excavations in house no. 10 of Calle Ángel de Saavedra that the plaza underwent a modification at the beginning of the third century A.D. with the construction of an apparently public edifice in which elements of the pavement of the plaza were re-used along with various architectonic remnants; among these are remains of columns and fragments of monumental capitals comparable to those of the temple in the Calle Claudio Marcelo or that of the supposed provincial temple.[49] Whether the inferred temple had been pulled down or changed its architectural ornamentation can hardly be said. In any event the transformation of a section of the plaza does not imply any change in its public character for, as the inscriptions show, the forum maintained its functions until the middle of the third century A.D. Cessation of a provincial role had evidently taken place by the fourth century, as suggested by the series of imperial statues which provincial governors now set up on the colonial forum (above, pp. 79), also by the transformation of the public edifice of the third century into a private house some time between the fourth and fifth century. Similar dismantling of public buildings of the high empire is a phenomenon observable elsewhere, notably at the provincial centre of Tarraco (above, p. 37).

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[46] See Vol. I, 1, 158–9.; Vol. III, 1, 111–12.

[47] Vol. III, 1, 112–26; cf. Vol. I, 2, 219–19.

[48] Stylow (1990) 277; Garriguet, Culto (1997) 59 with n. 28; Carillo–Hidalgo–Murillo–Ventura (1998) 39.

[49] Jiménez (1991) 129–30; Carillo–Hidalgo–Murillo–Ventura (1998) 39, n. 27.

### iv. *The Temple in Calle Claudio Marcelo*

The problems in locating the possible centre or centres of both the municipal and provincial cults bring the discussion round to the fourth monumental plaza which existed at Corduba under the early empire, that associated with the great marble temple situated at the conjunction of Calles Claudio Marcelo and Capitulares (Pl. 101).[50] This imposing white edifice, the only fully secure evidence we yet possess of a religious building in the Roman period, was positioned near one of the principal accesses to Corduba, the Via Augusta, and built in a zone untouched by pre-existing structures apart from the Republican city wall.[51] The earliest vestiges of the temple began to appear in the sixteenth century but only in the 1950's did excavations undertaken by S. de los Santos Gener, F. Hernández and A. García y Bellido uncover the enormous foundations of a hexastyle, pseudoperipteral temple above a *podium*; neither excavation reports nor any detailed architectonic study ever appeared in print, however. Campaigns, now documented by full reports, were resumed under the direction of J. L. Jiménez Salvador from 1985 to 1987 and from 1994 to 1995, when they were co-directed by D. Ruiz. These have succeeded in identifying the structural details

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[50] Ibáñez (1983) 316–23; Stylow, *o.c.* 270–1. The most comprehensive recent studies are by Jiménez (1989–90) 80ff; *id.* (1991) throughout; (1994) 249; (1998) 18. See further J. L. Jiménez Salvador in Vaquerizo (1996) 64–71, cf. 12, 19; Jiménez–Ruiz–Moreno (1996). For an overall view see Fear (1996) 189; Carillo–Hidalgo–Murillo–Ventura (1998) 40–1; Márquez, Funtión (1998) 65–6, 69–70; Panzram (2002) 157–9, 165, 169.

[51] For the chronology of the urban wall and definition of the western limit of the precinct over which the temple presides see Jiménez–Ruiz (1994).

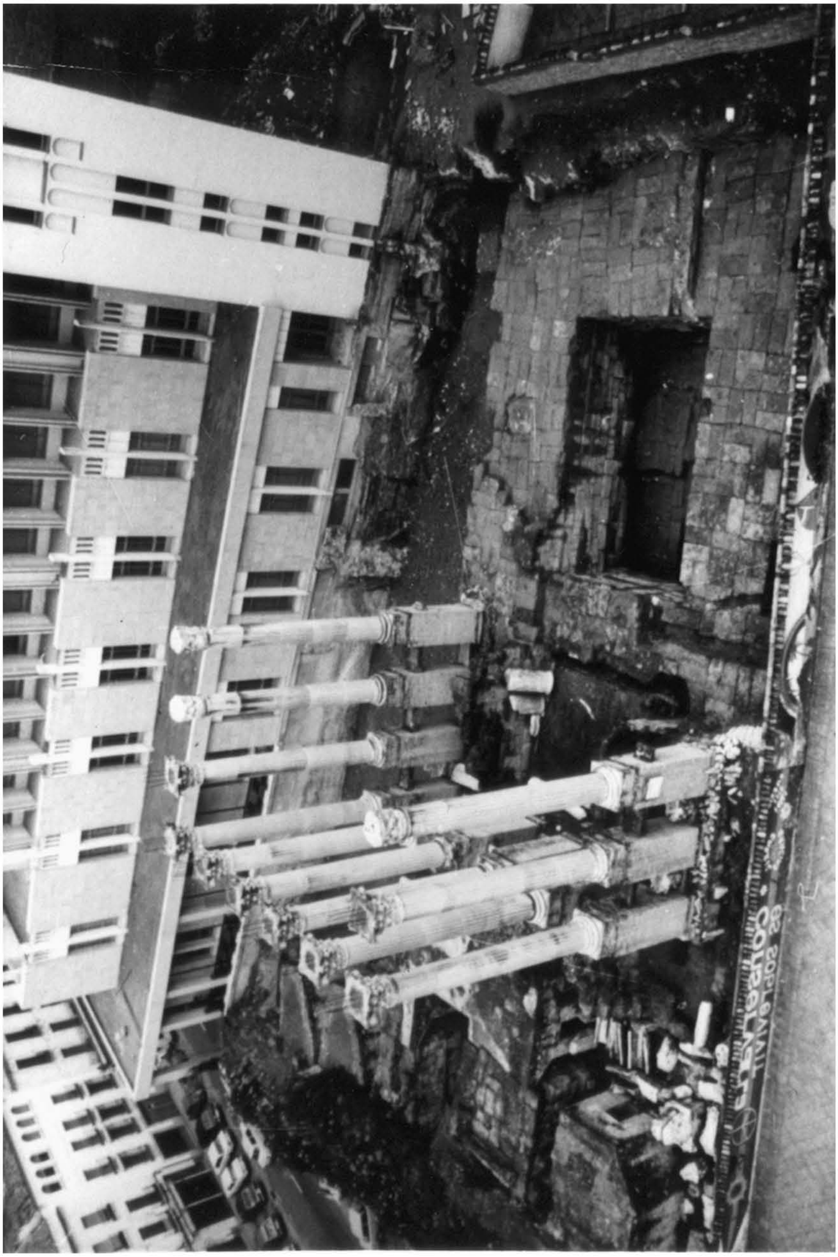

Plate 101. View of Roman temple in Calle Claudio Marcelo, Córdoba.

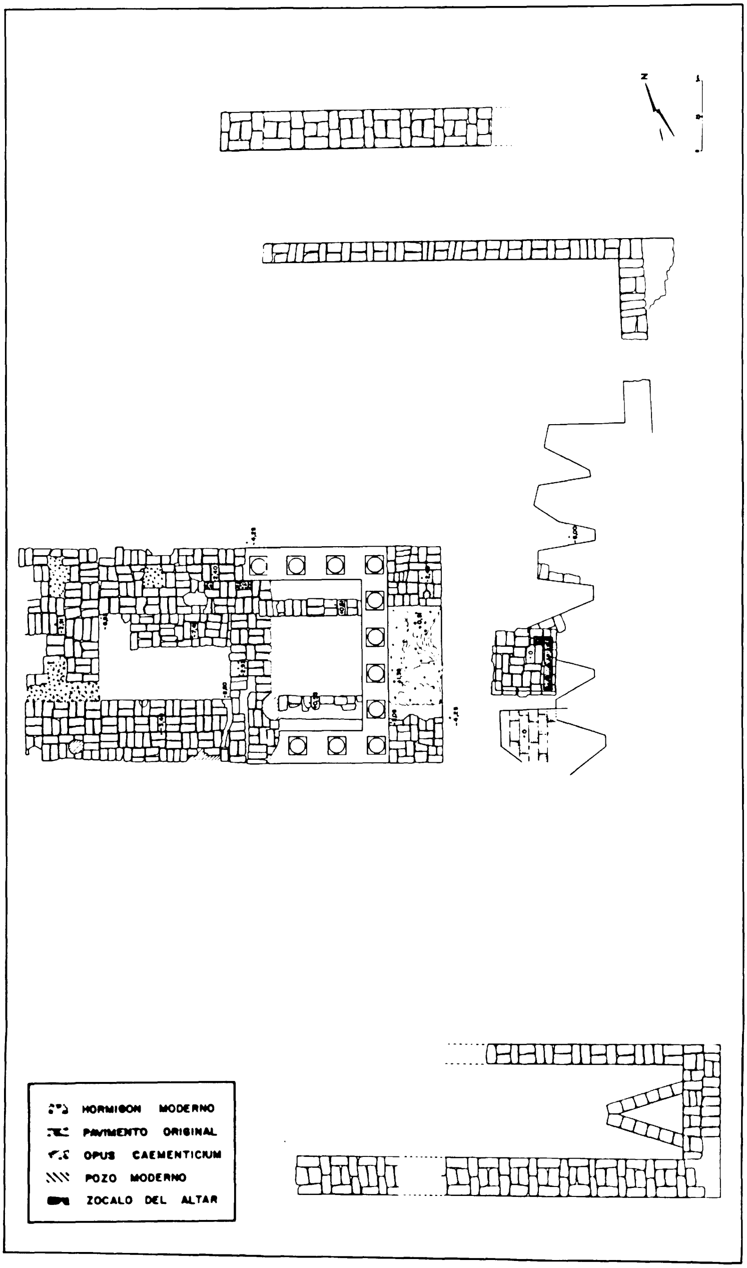
N
HORMIGON MODERNO
PAVIMENTO ORIGINAL
OPUS CAEMENTICIUM
POZO MODERNO
ZOCALO DEL ALTAR

Plate 102. Plan of temple and plaza at intersection of Calles Claudio Marcelo and Capitulares, Córdoba.

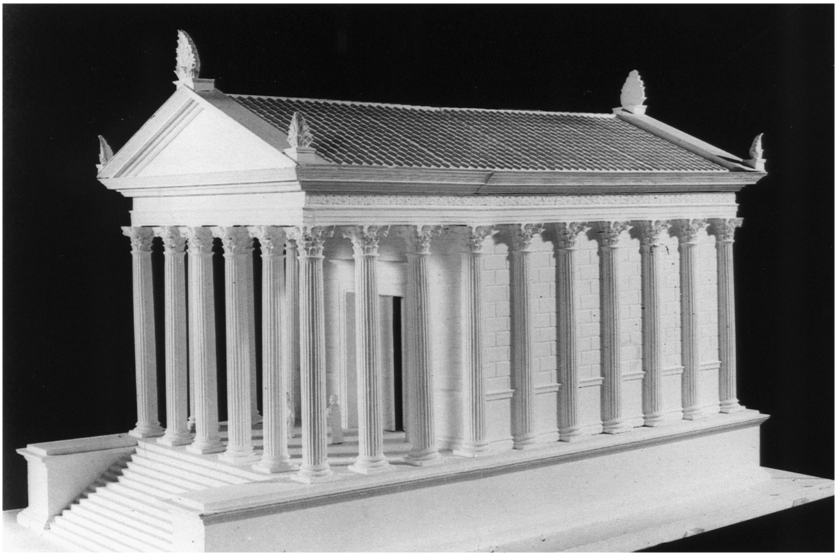

Plate 103. Model of temple in Calle Claudio Marcelo.

of the *cella* along with all the basic elements of the construction: *pronaos*, stairs, paving in front of the building, temple altar (Pl. 102). Whereas the staircase and the core supporting the steps are constructed in *opus caementicium*, the rest of the foundation is in *opus quadratum*. As all commentators have emphasized, the proportions of the *podium*, 32m long by 16m wide and 3.5m high, closely resemble those of the Maison Carée at Nîmes,[52] so copy the celebrated model of a civic dynastic sanctuary. Erected on an artifical platform elevated 10m above the natural level of the zone, the building with its *temenos* must have required an enormous constructive effort which by the calculations of García y Bellido raised the temple to a height of 18m. It will have consequently stood as a landmark visible from miles around and, like the putative provincial temple, have been a characteristic feature that enhanced the monumental grandeur of Corduba as the capital city of Baetica (Pl. 103).

On three sides at least the temple precinct, some 77m wide, was enclosed by a triple portico, whereas the east flank looks to have been occupied by a monumental stairway giving access to a plaza 80m wide, a feature that will undoubtedly have heightened the scenic splendour of the complex. In front of the temple stands what looks to be a square

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[52] For the point that this reflects the close relations that existed between Baetica and Gallia Narbonensis see Mierse (1991) 307–30.

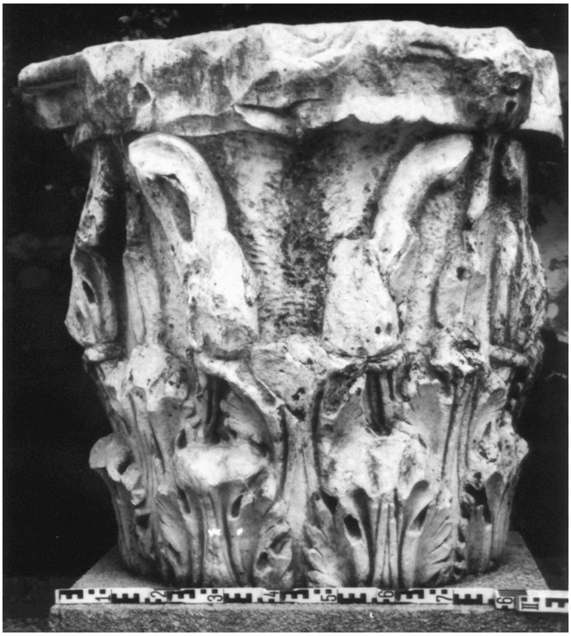

Plate 104. Corinthian capital from the temple in Calle Claudio Marcello at Córdoba.

*peribolos*, 4.5m each side, with the altar properly speaking at the centre in the manner of the Ara Pacis. The placement of the temple has been controversial ever since it emerged that it was not located on the civic forum in the region of the plaza of San Miguel but at the eastern extremity of the city, by the wall that formed the perimeter of the city. Whether it stood inside or outside long remained uncertain but archaeological exploration has now made it clear that the temple was in fact built partly *extra muros*, its construction having required demolition of a section of the wall. In location and basic features, then, notably its *porticus triplex*, the structure compares closely with the temple of Hercules at Tibur, as Jiménez notes.[53]

The details of construction remain very debatable. The site of the building and the fact that it makes use of marble put it after the Civil Wars, therefore Augustan or later, but until recently there has been a lack of accord between the dates provided by stratigraphic soundings on the one hand and analysis of the architectonic decoration on the other. García y Bellido concluded on the basis of pottery fragments from the area of the temple that construction took place in the last quarter of the first century A.D.,[54] whereas a different picture is suggested by the iconography of the capitals in particular, which point to the Julio-Claudian period rather than later (Pl. 104);[55] we have seen that a similar conflict exists at the Tarraco precinct between the date yielded by stratigraphic soundings and that indicated by analysis of the *clipei*. Fortunately this difficulty has been resolved in part by new soundings undertaken by J. L. Jiménez Salvador in the fill of the *cella* foundation, which would have been sealed by paving now lost in its entirety.[56] It now appears that the beginning of construction can be placed under Claudius, though how long it took before the buiding was finished and enclosed by a plaza ringed by a portico remains unclear in the absence of epigraphical evidence. This chronology is supported by the retrieval of a huge statue of a clothed female datable precisely to the Claudian or Neronian period and conceivably to be identifed with one of the cult images of the temple (Diva Augusta?); the statue is of the *Hüftmantel* type often used to portray deified emperors.[57] Perhaps as at Tarraco, therefore, one should suppose long-term construction of a temple which was inspired by a model with architectonic details of Augustan character but reached completion decades later in the Flavian period. In that case building will have commenced roughly contemporaneously with construction of the first aqueduct and bridge over the Guadalquivir, and concluded in the last quarter of the first century. In any event erection of the temple must have been a milestone in the urban evolution of Roman Corduba. The demolition of a stretch of the city wall can have come only at a time of peace, coinciding with the strengthing of a new political regime, but the precise date remains unknown as stratigraphic soundings to determine the chronology of the wall have not yet been possible. Quite possibly, completion of the temple and construction of a second aqueduct called Aqua Nova Domitiana Augusta (*CIL* $2^2$/7, 219) formed part of a monumental programme at the colony in the Flavian epoch[58]—very much like the completion of the provincial precinct at Tarraco.

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[53] Jiménez (1994) 249, n. 49; *id.*, (1998) 18, citing Coarelli (1987) 98.

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[54] *Id.* (1970) with figs. 3 and 4.

[55] Hesberg (1990) 283–7, especially 284; Jiménez, Templo (1996) 143–4, emphasizing the difficulties of using iconographic criteria in isolation from a secure archaeological context; cf. *id.* (1991) 126 with n. 27, noting the suggestion of C. Márquez that two or more teams of workmen may have executed the capitals at different periods. This would be in keeping with the similar evolution implied by the characteristics of the *clipei* at Tarraco (above, pp. 26–7). Pensabene (1996) 202, suggests the presence of itinerant workmen from Italy.

[56] *Id.*, Templo (1996) 130ff., especially 141–3.

[57] Jiménez, Fragmento (1996), noting the affinity of the fragment to similar togate figures of the Claudian-Neronian period that are associated with the "marble forum" at Mérida and the *scaenae frons* of the theatres at Emerita and Tarraco; Garriguet, Culto (1997) 57–8. Otherwise little is known of the iconographic programme of the precinct. For five sculpted figures, including a female of more that natural size, and two bronze statues, one equestrian, see Carillo–Hidalgo–Murillo–Ventura (1998) 40, citing López (1997) 341–2.

Lastly, the destination of the structure. For the moment this remains obscure though it is difficult to think that a temple built in the first century A.D. could be other than imperial. Integration with a plaza ringed by a portico along with a location on the perimeter of the city might suggest that it served as the provincial temple on the model of that at Narbo (see below, pp. 132–3), a view arguably reinforced by the recently confirmed location of a long suspected circus in the adjacent residential district of Orive (below, p. 103). It has been suggested in consequence that temple, plaza and circus formed a unified complex on the model of the arrangement at Tarraco with its antecedents at Ancyra and Rome, and that from the late Julio-Claudian/early Flavian period down to the mid-second century the ceremonies of the provincial cult unfolded here.[59] Only subsequently did the south forum, later also the colonial forum, take over the functions that were fulfilled in the meantime by the *temenos* and forecourt of the Calle Claudio Marcelo.

With the overall picture so fluid it is obviously imperative to keep an open mind, but various difficulties seem for the moment at least to stand in the way of this interpretation. In the first place, if the circus formed part of a coherent complex with the temple and plaza in Calle Claudio Marcelo, one would have expected the axis of the race-course either to coincide with that of the temple complex or—preferably—to run at right angles to it (roughly north-south rather than west-east) as at Tarraco and elsewhere. In fact it is oriented sighty askew.[60] The lie of the land could be a factor here, but a more substantial difficulty is that already in the second century a second circus seems to have built on the opposite, west side of the city, evidently in replacement of the

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[58] A. Ventura Villanueva in Vaquerizo (1996) 100–1; Ventura (1996) 27–63.

[59] Carillo–Hidalgo–Murillo–Ventura (1998) 40–1 with refs; Panzram (2002) 159–60, 221, 315, rejecting the comparison of a supposed two-tier complex with the triple-terraced sanctuary at Tarraco.

[60] See Carillo–Hidalgo–Murillo–Ventura (1998) 38 with fig. 5. For the allignment of the circus at the Tarraco centre see above, p. 35.

Orive circus. Secondly, wherever the statue bases of provincial priests originally stood, there is a gap in the evidence until these begin to appear in the mid-second century. Presumably this is to be explained by the circumstance noted by Stylow that bases of the first and second centuries as well as the images they supported were frequently re-used.[61] In any case statues from the intervening years could just as well have been originally erected on the forum in the *vicus Hispanus*, the monumental character of which looks deducible from various traces. In short nothing confirms that memorials of provincial priests will originally have stood on the plaza of the temple in the Calle Claudio Marcelo; if they did, some reason would have to been found for their later location first on the "provincial" forum, subsequently also on the colonial. The biggest obstacle of all, however, is the chronology of the temple. If work began under the Julio-Claudians, this would *ipso facto* exclude a provincial connection given that the provincial cult looks to be Flavian in origin (above, p. 89). The "constitution" of the temple, the ceremony which determined its affiliation, will in contrast have taken place before building began, therefore under Claudius.[62]

There remains the possibility that this could be the temple of the colony, a not unreasonable assumption in light of its position near the Via Augusta. If so, its eccentric location is conceivably to be connected with the fact that the city possessed two principal forums. To have built a municipal temple on either of these would have favoured one forum over the other, so construction by a principal entrance to the city may represent a unique compromise solution; intended or not, this would certainly have been the effect. At all events it seems logical on present evidence to suppose that the zone became the centre of the civic cult once local authorities allowed the province to make use of first one, later both civic forums for provincial purposes. The fact that the temple was adjacent on the east side to the district of Orive will have made its circus ideally situated for staging races on imperial occasions—not that this circumstance tells decisively for the character of the temple. An inscription refers to some sort of restoration in honour of Nerva in A.D. 97 (*CIL* 2, 4724).[63] If it was this temple that by now needed repairs, the reference might be thought to favour an early date for the beginning of contruction; regrettably, the text is not explicit on the point. As for the cult the temple served, worship will presumably have focused on living and deified members of the imperial house as in municipalities elsewhere, an inference consistent with the possible cult image found in the vicinity (above, p. 95). That point aside, it remains for future archaeological or epigraphical discoveries to put the problem in a clearer light.

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[61] Stylow (1989) 404; Garriguet, Culto (1997) 61.

[62] Vol. I, 2, 210–12. This point of ritual excludes the suggestion of Fear (1996) 189, n. 86, that if the temple was dedicated under Domitian, it could have served Minerva, to whom the emperor had a particular devotion.

[63] Ibáñez (1983) 322–3 with refs.

### v. *The Provincial Centre*

The status of Corduba as the capital of the province strongly suggests that one must reckon with provincial premises of some sort precisely as at Tarraco and Emerita; the difficulty is to determine their location. The city presents a patently unique situation with its four distinct complexes—the civic forum (*vicus forensis*), the *forum adiectum* or *forum novum* by Calle Morería, the southern forum (*vicus hispanus*), and the zone of the temple in Calle Claudio Marcelo—the inter-relationship of which is difficult to disentangle, as are their respective spheres of competence.[64]

As we have seen, the southern plaza has produced a total of four memorials in all to provincial priests. While two of these were set up by the provincial council, a clear link with the civic authorities is revealed by the statues of L. Octavius Licinianus and Clodius Saturninus, which were erected by their sons *d. d.* Presumably this formula, which is inscribed in larger letters, should be read *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*, as Stylow suggests, rather than *d(edit) d(edicavit)* or *d(ono) d(edit)*[65]: the provincial council might be empowered to use the site for provincial purposes but erection of a private monument there would still require permission from the civic authorities.[66] Against this testimony must be balanced the evidence from the central forum. Four statues in all from this zone were dedicated to provincial priests, two by the city of Corduba, one by the *ordo* of Malaca, and one by the provincial council (above, p. 79). An additional trace of a provincial *flamen* is provided by the *mensula* of a statue of Dea Colonia Patricia set up by the provincial *flamen* L. Iunius Paulinus of Corduba, who lists his municipal offices (*CIL* $2^2$/7, 221). However, the presence of the provincial council of Baetica is plainly documented in the pedestal of Philippus Arabs dedicated by the province of Baetica *ex decret(o) concili(i) devot(a) numini maiestatiq(ue) eius* (*CIL* $2^2$/7, 255), and what could well be a companion statue of his son Philippus II has emerged from the area of the south forum (*CIL* $2^2$/7, 256). The dedication formula of this is lost but the inscription is of roughly the same date and looks to have been engraved by a different hand on the same sort of stone, whether in the same workshop as that of his father or in another.[67] In that case the two together would recall the inscriptions of L. Axius Naso, which were likewise set up on both forums. Lastly, there is the pedestal honouring Salonina, the wife of Gallienus, which was likewise erected on the central forum by the province (*CIL* $2^2$/7, 258).

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[64] See in general Fishwick, Fiction (1995) 181–6; Stylow (1990) 276–7, suggesting that, as the provincial precinct extended within the city of Corduba and the provincial council would not have had a permanent delegation at the provincial capital, decisions of less importance will have been delegated to the administration of the *colonia* as a subsidiary organisation. For the inference that there was no forum at Corduba exclusively reserved for municipal or provincial affairs see now Panzram (2003). I am indebted to J. L. Jiménez Salvador for a copy of the author's forthcoming paper. Cf. Panzram (2002) 180, 184–5, 189, 315.

[65] Stylow, *ibid.* Kindly suggested independently by G. Di Vita-Evrard.

[66] See in general Alföldy (1984) 58ff. Stylow, *o.c.* 282, suggests a certain rivalry between two competing jurisdictions; cf. *id.* (1989) 399ff., especially 405. But jurisdictional conflict will have been less acute in practice if the provincial *flamen* had a seat

If we eliminate the possibility that this confused picture is to be explained by the fact that stones have moved at some stage[68]—though that could well be so in the occasional instance—it seems clear that both plazas were used at one time or another by the province. A diachronic approach suggests the following sequence. On present evidence, so far limited to a single inscription (*CIL* $2^2$/7, 291; Vol. III, 1, Pl. 13: A.D. 152), the lower zone in the region of Calles Jesús y Maria and Ángel de Saavedra looks to have served as the only provincial forum for a century following its adaptation in the Flavian period. But clearly the province was also active on the central, colonial forum, where it makes its first appearance in 191 (*CIL* $2^2$/7, 293; Vol. III, 1, Pl. 14), and for the next half century or more apparently the two zones were in provincial use, both north (cf. *CIL* $2^2$/7, 255; Vol. III, 2, Pl. 63: A.D. 245; *CIL* $2^2$/7,

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on the municipal council of Corduba with the right to pass an opinion and vote. That such was the case at Narbo looks confirmed by a provision in the *lex de flamonio provinciae Narbonensis* (*CIL* 12, 6038, line 4; Vol. III, 2, 5–6). For the view that the provincial cult of Baetica was regulated by a similar enactment see Vol. III, 1, 119–26; further Fishwick, Mellaria (1999) 288–91.

[67] Stylow (1989) 403; *CIL* $2^2$/7, p. 75.

[68] On the contradictory distribution of the epigraphical evidence see further Trillmich (1996) 183.

258: A.D. 258–9) and south (cf. *CIL* 2$^2$/7, 295: A.D. 216; ? *CIL* 2$^2$/7, 256: A.D. 244–9). Subsequently the lower forum appears to have fallen into disuse altogether.

It should be stressed that this tentative reconstruction is based solely on the present inventory of inscriptions attesting the province as dedicator and leaves out of account honorific dedications of various kinds set up by a priest's son, the *ordo* of the colony, a provincial *flamen*, or the provincial governor. A broadly similar pattern nevertheless emerges in these other categories of dedications to provincial priests. The single exception is the equestrian statue base of Iulius Gallus Mummianus that the city of Corduba dedicated on the central forum in the early second century (*CIL* 2$^2$/7, 282). Otherwise, on the central forum L. Iunius Paulinus, the provincial priest, dedicated himself a Severan *mensula* that apparently supported a statue of Colonia Patricia, one of several statues he had promised (*CIL* 2$^2$/7, 221; Vol. III, 2, Pl. 66), the *ordo* of Malaca set up their statue to L. Licinius Montanus Sarapio, *origine Malacitano adlectus Cordbensis*, likewise under the Severi (*AE*, 1996, 883), and about the same period the local *ordo* of Corduba decreed a statue to M. Helvius Rufus, who supported the costs (*CIL* 2/$^2$7, 296). Similarly on the south forum two inscribed statues were set up to provincial priests by the priest's son *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* in the early third century (*CIL* 2$^2$/7 292, 297).

The circumstance that statues were erected to provincial priests not only by the province but also privately or by civic authorities on the lower or central forum respectively would match the situation in the provincial enclave at Tarraco, where priests look to have been also given statues privately or by their own city. But there is no comparable evidence that the province gave permission for relatives or fellow citizens to erect a statue on either plaza at Corduba. Presumably this is because the provincial council itself was there on sufferance—operating on a "loaned" site, so to speak—and therefore lacked the requisite authority, which rested with the order of decurions. On the other hand, the series of statues set up to Constantine and Constantine II have their counterpart in the pedestals to imperial figures dedicated by provincial governors or other high functionaries in the *temenos* at Tarraco.[69] Otherwise the central plaza at Corduba, if not also the lower plaza, looks to have served as the site for monuments to the provincial aristocracy in much the same way as the central terrace at Tarraco. New inscriptions may yet document closer correspondencies.

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[69] Alföldy in *RE* Suppl. 15 (1978) 602.

The development which seems to emerge, therefore, is that when the provincial cult of Baetica was inaugurated early in the Flavian period—at a time when the municipal temple in Calle Claudio Marcelo was presumably well under way if not finished—the province adapted for its own purposes first the lower forum of Corduba, later the upper forum also. This chimes to a certain extent with the situation at Emerita, where the province of Lusitania looks to have made use of an existing plaza of the city in the area of the Plaza del Parador, beyond the Arco di Traiano. But for the province of Baetica to utilize *two* civic forums is an innovative scheme that seems unparalleled elsewhere—just as to shift the focus of the municipal cult to the new temple at the entrance to the city, if such is the case, would also be unparalleled. Quite clearly, these arrangements, if correctly reconstructed, are entirely different to what one finds at Tarraco and elsewhere. How long they lasted is also very uncertain but the series of imperial statues which provincial governors set up on the central forum of Corduba early in the fourth century suggests that by now the south forum may have lost its provincial role, a point supported by the transformation of the public edifice of the third century into a private house sometime between the fourth and fifth century. We have seen that similar dismantling of public buildings of the high empire is observable at Tarraco. That the central forum was still used for purposes of the imperial cult is not directly in evidence.

### vi. *The Theatre, Amphitheatre and Circus*

Finally, there is the question of monumental structures linked with the imperial cult.[70] The site of the civic theatre has now been securely located below and behind the Museo Arqueológico Provincial—therefore close to the south plaza, a location which raises the possibility that the building may have been associated as elsewhere with festivals of

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[70] Credit for the location of the theatre and possible identification of an amphitheatre and second circus belongs to the team from the School of Archaeology, University of Cordóba, directed by Pilar León, in particular to Angel Ventura, Carlos Márquez and Rafall Hidalgo, whose findings were first made public in November, 1996, at the Seville Congress on "Las ciudades privilegiadas." Information kindly supplied by A. U. Stylow.

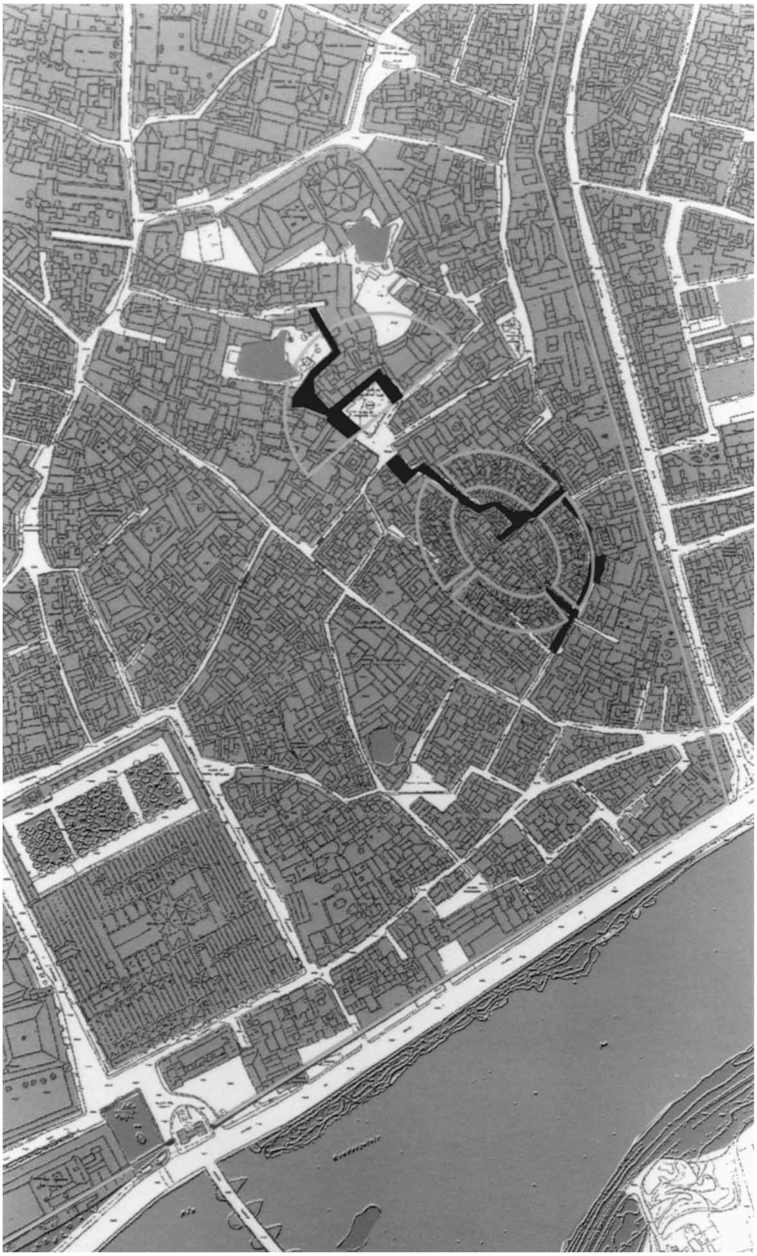

Plate 105. Actual location of theatre, hypothetical location of amphitheatre of Colonia Patricia.

the imperial cult (Pl. 105).[71] Though archaeological investigation is still in an early phase, it seems to have been a huge structure, some 125m in diameter, which in size, configuration and architectonic decoration clearly relates to an Augustan model, the Theatre of Marcellus at Rome; construction was apparently concluded by the middle of the first century. The possibility has recently been suggested that the theatre may have included a *sacellum* which served the imperial cult and is to be associated with the dedication *Augusto sacrum* (above, p. 78), also a dedication to Fortuna Augusta (*CIL* $2^2/7$, 225). In addition, what looks to be a head of Antoninus Pius, its features badly deteriorated, may have formed part of a circle of statues representing the Antonine dynasty and located in one of the principal sectors of the theatre or its adjacent structures, very much therefore as at Emerita.[72]

In other provinces, as we have seen, the provincial centre is commonly associated with a nearby amphitheatre.[73] While much remains uncertain, the precise location of the amphitheatre at Corduba, traditionally thought to lie near the temple between Calle Capitulares and the plaza de San Salvador, may now have been identified between the theatre and the river (Pl. 105). Its role as a centre of entertainment is in any event amply documented by epigraphical records of the gladiators who fought in the arena.[74] As for the circus, an inscription records that a provincial *flamen* celebrated his gift of the statues he had promised by holding races (*CIL* $2^2/7$, 221; Vol. III, 2, Pl. 66).[75] A first facility is now thought to have been situated in the district of Orive, east of the temple in Calle Claudio Marcelo, with which it may have connected, but a second circus looks to have been constructed later, already in the second century it would appear, west of the city by the so-called Palatium

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[71] Ibáñez (1983) 326–7 with refs.; A. Ventura Villanueva in Vaquerizo (1996) 82–6; Ventura (1996) 153–68, especially 164, noting a possible *sacellum* of the imperial cult at the theatre; Garriguet (1997) 57; Carillo–Hidalgo–Murillo–Ventura (1998) 34–5; Márquez, Functión (1998) 65, 70–2; Panzram (2002) 154–7, 165, 186–7, 221. On *ludi scaenici* at imperial festivals see Vol. II, 1, 582–4; Jiménez (1993) 226 with n. 6 and refs. For the location of the civic theatre at Camulodunum beside the provincial enclave see below, p. 147.

[72] Garriguet, Culto (1998) 81.

[73] Jiménez (1998) 18 with refs. and fig. 3.

[74] Ibáñez, *o.c.* 336–44 with inscriptions relating to gladiators; Jiménez (1989–90) 84ff; *id.* (1991) 128–9; A. Ventura Villanueva in Vaquerizo (1996) 86–9; Ventura (1996) 171–6; Panzram (2002) 157, 165.

[75] Ibáñez, *o.c.* 344–5. For tentative location of the circus see A. Ventura Villanueva in Vaquerizo (1996) 82; Ventura (1996) 179–84.

Maximiani, from which there was direct access.[76] Presumably this was a better location for staging races. The full picture is not yet clear, then, but the possible sites of these various structures at least provide renewed confirmation that no separate, permanent enclave existed at Corduba on the lines of the provincial enclosure at Tarraco.[77] On the other hand, all lie within walking distance from the putative centres of the civic or provincial cult, so close enough to have been joined by processions.

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[76] Panzram, *o.c.* 198, 206, 222, dating the circus to the turn of the second century.

[77] It is worth adding that provincial sanctuaries located on the edge of a city—as at Tarraco, Narbo and Camulodunum—are enclosed by a wall or portico with one or more entrances. The putative centre at Emerita lies within the city, where it is accessed by the "Arco de Trajano". None of these features appear to be replicated at the supposed enclave linking the temple in Calle Claudio Marcelo with the Orive circus.

## CHAPTER FOUR

# LUGDUNUM

The provincial centre at Lugdunum is the earliest enclosure of its kind in the Latin west and in several ways a deviation from the pattern observable in the Iberian peninsula. In the first place the sanctuary is situated on the outskirts of Lugdunum, outside the territory of the colony rather than within the perimeter of the city as at Tarraco or Narbo (Vol. II, 1, Pl. CIX).[1] Despite its proximity on the hill of Fourvière, Lugdunum had in principle no direct link with the enclave, so that in this instance there is no possibility of any connection with the civic forum of Lugdunum, the exact site of which continues to evade final detection.[2] Equally unusual, the provincial worship of which it was the focus was formally that of three provinces: Lugdunensis, Aquitania and Belgica, a privileged case for which there is no clear parallel elsewhere in the Roman empire. This interprovincial character becomes less striking on closer inspection, however, once it is recalled that the establishment of the Altar of the Three Gauls, to all appearances in 12 rather than 10 B.C.,[3] took place only a year or so after the tripartite division of Gaul in *ca.* 16–13 B.C.[4] At the time the new arrangement can hardly have appeared as definitive as it does today in retrospect. The fact that by Strabo's account sixty Gallic *civitates* were originally represented at the sanctuary[5] clearly shows that the centre served a broad ethnic unity on which had been imposed an administrative system that cut across tribal divisions artificially. In practice therefore the enclave must originally have served as the regional hub of Gallia Comata,[6] the territory of which stretched broadly from the Pyrenees to the Rhine. It is worth repeating in this connection that among surviving titles of the federal priests the term Tres Galliae appears only from the time of Vespasian,[7] whereas Gallia Comata appears to have been equivalent to Tres Galliae under the early empire until the advent of the Flavians.[8]

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[1] For details of the locality see Audin (1956) 149–52; Pelletier–Rossiaud (1990) 15–16, 43–4, 121–4.

[2] See in general Mandy (1987).

[3] Vol. III, 1, 13–19.

[4] Fishwick, Provinces (1994) 119–21.

[5] Tacitus, *Ann.* 3, 44, mentions 64 tribes in connection with the revolt of A.D. 21; this figure presumably includes the four *civitates* later attached to Germania Superior. For discussion see Vol. III, 2, 55, 58–9.

[6] *Contra* Le Roux (1994) 403, objecting that at the Confluence the assembly did not correspond to a provincial structure. It did, however, correspond to an inter-provincial,

## i. *The Site*

The location chosen for the sanctuary of the Three Gauls was the south slope of what today is the hill of Croix-Rousse at Lyons.[9] Here, a kilometer or so upstream from the Roman colony, stood the *pagus Condatensis*,[10] an area of about two hectares, the exact boundaries of which are uncertain but evidently extended over the Canabae and down to the banks of the Saône and the Rhone (Vol. I, 2, Pl. LXIII a). Within this *pagus* the site of the sanctuary may well have already been a separate district of some 400m$^2$ set aside for religious purposes and with its own administration.[11] An altar dedicated to *Diana Aug(usta)* in honour of the *pagus* reveals that it was erected by a *magister* of the *pagus* serving for the second time, who on the occasion of its dedication gave two *denarii*, instead of a dinner, to each of the *honorati* present—presumably officials who have peformed some public function at the *pagus*.[12] The site itself was granted by decree of the *pagani* of Condate.

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federal structure.

[7] Vol. III, 1, 149.

[8] Vol. III, 1, 92.

[9] See now in general Tranoy–Ayala (1994) 171–89 with fig. 2, documenting finds. For a reconstruction of one sector of the sanctuary near the site of the Hôtel du Parc see Richard (1999) 383–8, especially 386ff., noting that the federal sanctuary extended at least to rue Sainte-Catherine. By and large present conception of the sanctuary rests on the largely intuitive reconstruction of A. Audin, who conjectured a vast esplanade, dominated by a cliff face resulting from the cleavage of the hill: *id.* (1979) 91. For the fragility of many of the hypotheses underlying this picture see Tranoy–Ayala, *o.c.* 183–5, stressing the need for a new programme of prospection and archaeological exploration. In particular they take the sanctuary to have been bordered at least to the south by a zone of habitation—so on the lines of the sanctuary at Olympia with its scatter of varied buildings, as Richard observes, *o.c.* 391.

[10] On the term Condate (= confluence) see Tranoy–Ayala, *o.c.* 173–4, arguing that the existence of a *pagus* does not imply the presence of dwellings, of which there is no tangible trace before 10 B.C.

[11] Allmer–Dissart (1889–93) 2, 47–9 *ad* no. 109; Pelletier–Rossiaud (1990) 98. See now Dondin–Payre (1998) 57; *ead.* (1999) 179, 211–13.

[12] *CIL* 13, 1670 cf. p. 228. Dedicated to an Augustan God, the altar itself is assigned to the second century by Hirschfeld on the basis of its letter-forms.

There seems no reason to doubt that this *magister* will have been chosen by the *pagani* at a gathering of some kind rather than appointed by decurions from the colony. With its own institutions, therefore, the *pagus* will have been an ideal site for a federal sanctuary, especially in light of its proximity to the borders of the Aedui, Segusiavi, Allobroges and Ambarres. The very fact that it was specially chosen speaks for its pre-Roman independence.

That something of its earlier individuality was still preserved as late as the martyrdom of the Christians in A.D. 177 is suggested by the circumstance that it was here their ashes were scattered on the waters, evidently in accordance with Celtic rites of interrment.[13] A feature of particular interest for its religious significance is that within the *pagus* may well have stood a grove—or at least that looks the likeliest emendation of Strabo's text (4, 3, 2; p. 192), which on the face of it is corrupt in referring to a second altar.[14] The location of a sacred grove close to the confluence of the two major rivers and set on the slopes of a hill which was itself the source of sacred, beneficent springs would be in keeping with the Celtic cult of waters and with the widespread use of groves as places of assembly.[15] Given that similar groves are well in evidence elsewhere in connection with the ruler cult, the possibility of a *lucus sacer* within the *pagus Condatensis* looks more than likely.

## ii. *The Altar*

The central feature of the sanctuary in its first phase was the *Ara Trium Galliarum*.[16] A. Audin situates this in the region of Vinagère, where it will have stood precisely behind the *chevet* of the church of St. Polycarp, on the level summit of the two slopes of rue Burdeau (Pl. 106).[17] Nothing is known of the dimensions of the structure itself, though its supposed

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[13] Fishwick (1976) *ad* Suet., *Cl.* 9, 1; Vol. I, 1, 134, n. 259.

[14] Vol. I, 1, 103–4. See further Maurin (1978) 199.

[15] Turcan (1991) 736–7.

[16] Le Roux (1994) 402, cf. 403, apparently holds that only a temple to a deceased [and deified] emperor can have been the centre of a provincial cult—not therefore the altar to Roma and Augustus at the Confluence. While this seems best defined as the centre of a supra-regional cult serving Gallia Comata down to the Flavian era, the inscriptions make clear that it was henceforth the focus of the federal cult of the Three Gauls down to the addition of a temple, to all appearances under Hadrian: see Vol. III, 1, 182–4.

[17] Audin (1956) 152–3, noting that the site was once covered with remains from antiquity; cf. Allmer–Dissart (1889–93) 2, 29.

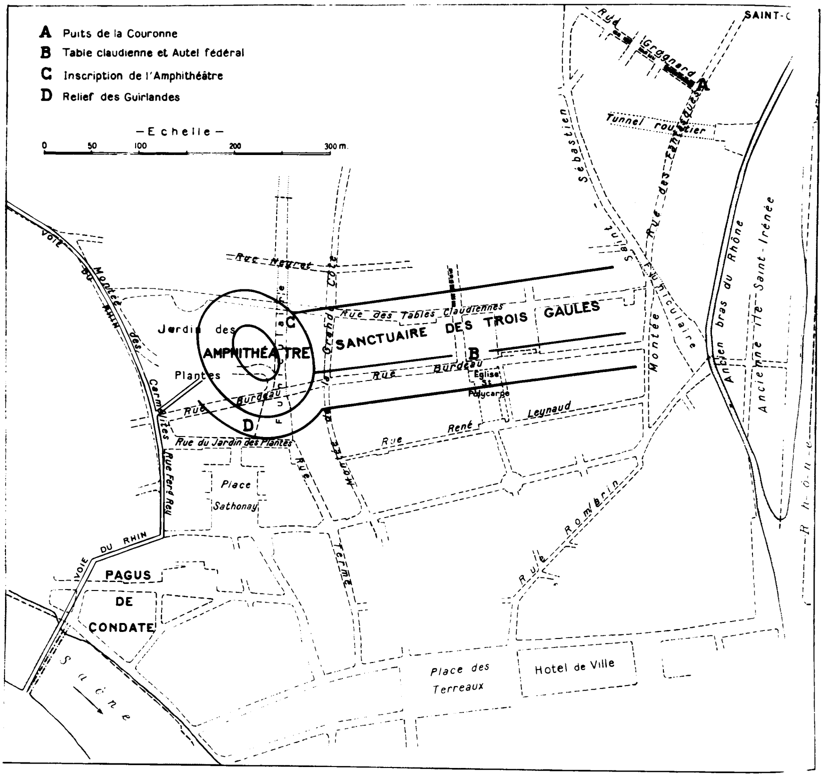
A Puits de la Couronne
B Table claudienne et Autel fédéral
C Inscription de l'Amphithéâtre
D Relief des Guirlandes
— Echelle —
0 50 100 200 300 m.
Rue Neyret
Jardin des Plantes
AMPHITHÉÂTRE
SANCTUAIRE DES TROIS GAULES
Rue des Tables Claudiennes
Rue Burdeau
Eglise St Polycarpe
Rue René Leynaud
Rue du Jardin des Plantes
Place Sathonay
Rue Terme
Rue Romarin
Place des Terreaux
Hotel de Ville
VOIE DU RHIN
Montée des Carmélites
PAGUS DE CONDATE
Saône
Rue Grognard
Rue des Fantasques
Tunnel routier
SAINT-C
Sebastien
Ancien bras du Rhône
Ancienne Île Saint-Irénée
Rhône
A
B
C
D

Plate 106. Plan of Sanctuary of the Three Gauls.

location is barely wide enough today to accommodate an altar as broad as, say, that before the temple of Apollo at Delphi. Established on a large terrace, where the ensemble will have been visible from afar, facing towards Rome, the altar looks to have been approached by ramps from east and west, very much as at the Temple of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste (Pl. 107). The significance of this arrangement is that the double ramp will have been suited for the deployment of processions—particularly to and from the amphitheatre—on the occasion of imperial festivals such as the emperor's birthday (Pl. 108).[18] Our only literary source is Strabo's brief reference, which states simply that it was a noteworthy monument on which were engraved the names

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[18] For the view that the double slope of the rue Bordeau may be artificial rather than natural—so deliberately created to accommodate processions—see Tranoy–Ayala (1994) 185. *Contra* Audin, *o.c.* 152; cf. Vol. III, 1, 16, n. 48.

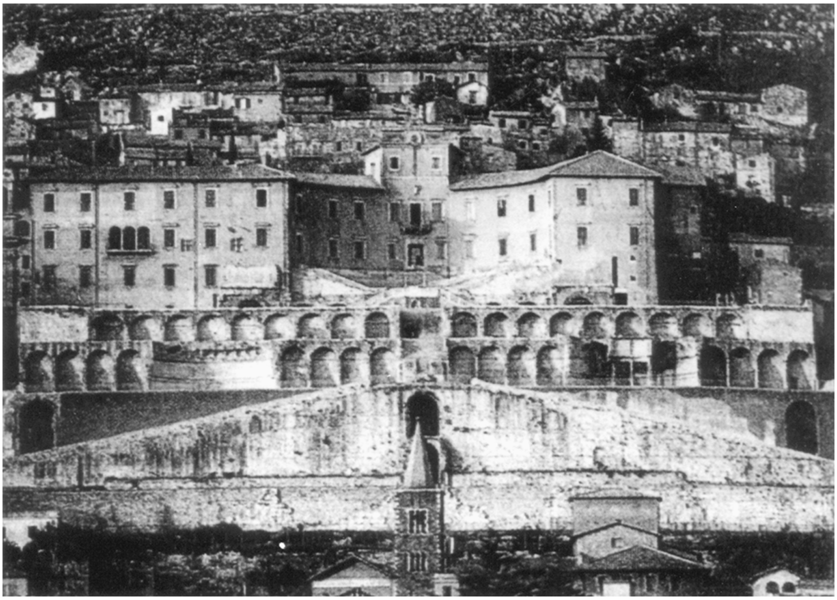

Plate 107. View of the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste, showing double processional ramps.

of sixty tribes; nearby, he adds, stood sixty statues, one for each tribe.[19] Otherwise our principal evidence for the physical aspect of the altar is the well-known series of "altar" coins issued at Lugdunum in the period from Augustus to Nero (Vol. I, 1, Pls. I, XI–XVII).[20] Despite minor variations, the coins all illustrate a broad, rectangular block engraved with imperial insignia and flanked by two winged Victories;[21] these stand on columns and bear in their raised right hand a wreath, in the left a palm branch supported by the shoulder. Whether in practice the figures were placed at either side of the altar rather than, say, slightly back (cf. below, p. 144) can hardly be said; space is certainly very limited. In any event the Altar of the Three Gauls is the only structure

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[19] For detailed discussion see Vol. I, 1, 102–30 with Audin–Fishwick (1990) 658–62.

[20] Vol. I, 1, 104 with nn. 50–1; Fishwick, Coinage (1999) 95, n. 2. On post-Augustan altar coins, particularly babarous issues, see recently Süssenbach (1989).

[21] At the Augusteum of Nîmes M. Janon recognises four Victories at the corners of the square platform which supports the small central altar of the sanctuary and consequently suggests that four rather than two Victories might have likewise framed the altar at Lugdunum: *id.* (1991) 764, n. 82. On the coins at least there is no sign of more two Victories.

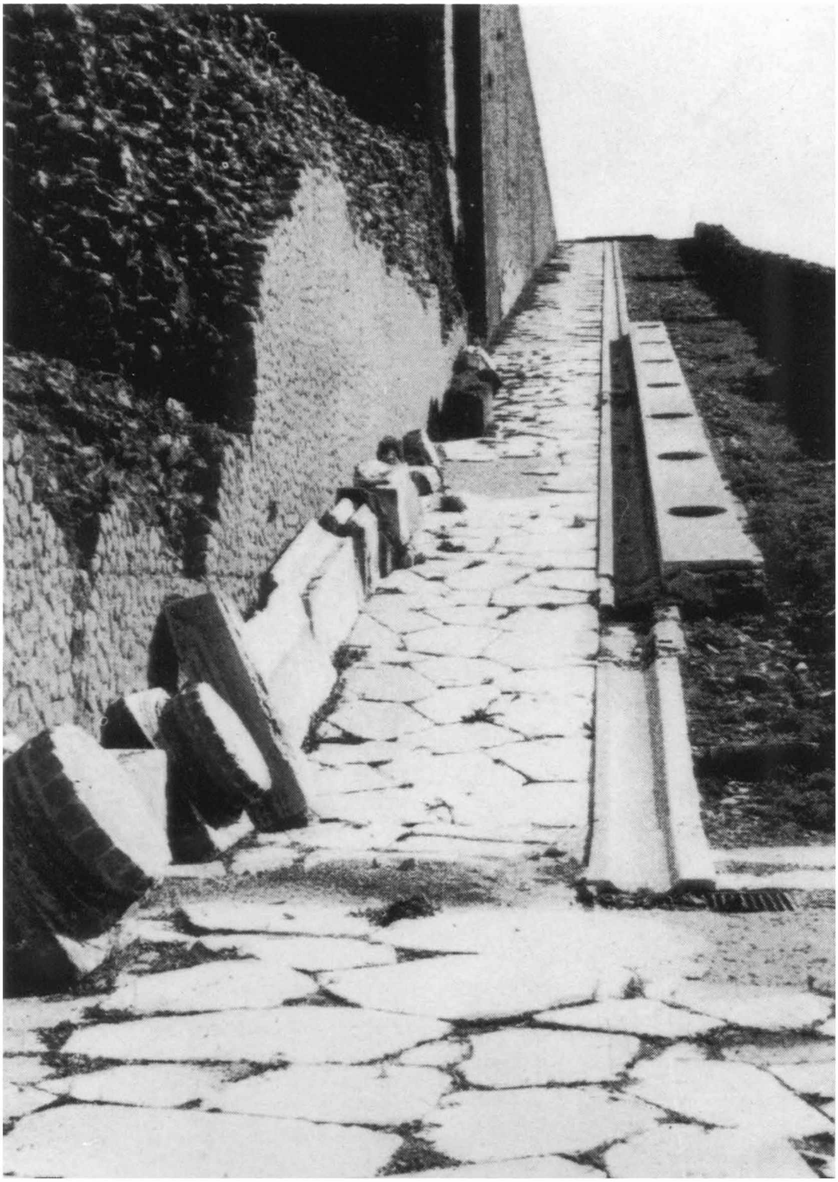

Plate 108. One of the double ramps at Praeneste leading from Via del Borgo to the level of the hemicycles.

among provincial monuments in the Latin west to be portrayed by a contemporary facsimile.

That the testimony of the coins can be trusted looks to be confirmed by chance relics that have survived, in particular part of a bronze laurel crown found at the east end of the terrace where the sanctuary was located, a bronze statuette recovered from the Saône, and various medallions appliqué illustrating Victories (Vol. I, 1, Pls. II–IV).[22] To these can in all probability be added the granite pillars, evidently of Egyptian Syenite, which look to have replaced under Hadrian the original columns supporting the Victories. According to a tradition transmitted by Rabelais, the pillars were transported in about the eleventh century to Ainay, where they were cut in two and placed as supports beneath the cupola of the church of St. Martin (Vol. I, 1, Pl. V). Close inspection of these half-columns, in particular comparison of the fluting and measurement of their diameters, does in fact confirm that they fit diagonally. Furthermore, at the top of the two half-columns behind the basilica altar there appears an astragal below the ancient capital, while the foot of one of the two half-columns in front of the altar still has the hollowed moulding indicating the base. The total height with base and capital will have been about 10.50m. There is no reason to suppose that the dimensions were modified but the original Victory columns may well have been of more fragile material. Audin has proposed brick encased with marble or drums of limestone corresponding to the stone used for the dedication of the amphitheatre (below, p. 120). Otherwise a plaque of white marble originally bearing the gilded(?) bronze letters RO[MAE… has been attributed to the altar, though for no sound reason (Vol. I, 1, Pl. VIa); the fragment could rather have come from the frieze of the provincial temple (below, p. 123). What by Strabo's account did appear on the altar were the names of the sixty Gallic tribes. The term *epigraphé* clearly implies a written record and evokes a list like that of the forty-five *gentes devictae* on Augustus' Alpine monument of 17 B.C. (Pliny, *NH* 3, 136–7 ). The occurence of a similar list on the Lugdunum altar would be in keeping with the federal character of the monument and conform with the known practice of posting secular documents in a sacred context (see further below, p. 127).

As for categorization of the altar itself,[23] all analysis turns on the nature of the monument shown on the coins. It was originally proposed

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[22] For a convenient summary see Tranoy–Ayala (1994) 183.

[23] See in general Fishwick, Coinage (1998) 98–100.

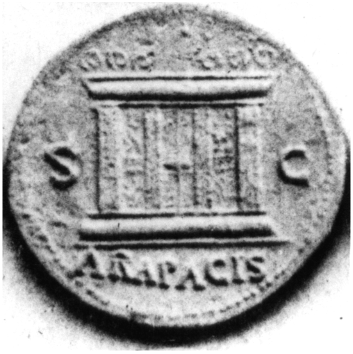

Plate 109. *As* of Nero, A.D. 64–6, showing Ara Pacis.

by H. Dragendorff that the coins show not the altar but the enclosure of the precinct, a thesis adopted in recent years by R. Turcan, who likewise takes the coins to show the face of the *temenos*, the altar wall of the precint, rather than the sacrificial altar itself, which is unseen.[24] With no hard evidence on hand interpretation must be a matter of personal judgement, which can hardly be proved right or wrong; the credit for the fundamental contribution belongs in any event to Turcan, who has assembled for the first time an extensive dossier of altar coins (including some of the very earliest) that can now serve as a basis for discussion. But against the hypothesis of Dragendorff it seems fair to note that the Ara Pacis, the prototype and model of such an enclosed altar, is shown on coins issued under Nero as a square monument with a central door giving access to the precinct (Pl. 109)[25] and that these features are repeated in numismatic representations of later altars centred on a court, notably the Ara Providentiae on coins of Tiberius (Pl. 110).[26] As the rectangular block on the Lugdunum coins is oblong and without a door, it follows that, if this is a monument of the precinct type, what one observes must be a side wall of the enclosure, decorated with reliefs of simple execution which are in no way comparable to the iconographic masterpieces of the Ara Pacis. Presumably access would in that case have been from the sides of the monument which are invisible on the

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[24] Vol. I, 1, 122–3 with refs. See recently Turcan, Sesterce (1992) 16.

[25] *BMCRE* 1, 271–2, nos. 360–5, Pl. 47, 2 *et passim*. On the Ara Pacis see recently Castriota (1995).

[26] *BMCRE* 1, cxxxix-xl, 141, nos. 146–50: Pls. 25, 12; 26, 2 *et passim*. For a similar enclosure at Corinth see Price–Trell (1977) 219, fig. 479 (Verus, A.D. 161–8).

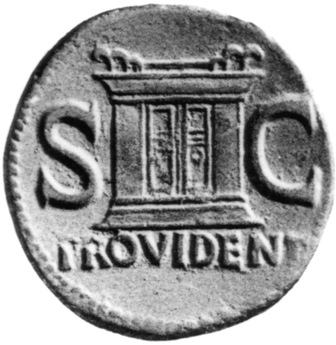

Plate 110. *As* struck under Tiberius, A.D. 14–37, showing Ara Providentiae.

coins. Turcan rightly stresses that the oblong configuration contrasts sharply with the normal square Roman altar, yet similar monumental oblong altars can certainly be attested elsewhere[27]—that before the Temple of Divus Claudius at Camulodunum is a case in point (below, pp. 142–5). The proportions of the altar in relation to the figures of Victory tend in any event to vary from issue to issue and may be determined in part at least by the space required to indicate the imperial reliefs.

A further incongruity is that on representations of the Ara Pacis, the Ara Providentiae and derivative monuments altar horns are visible protruding from the top of the sacrificial altar behind the *peribolos* (Pl. 109),[28] also in most examples what can only be the *mensa* itself behind and above the surrounding wall; more often than not both features are combined (Pls. 110–11).[29] Occasionally the interior altar juts out

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[27] Vol. I, 2, 122, n. 181, noting examples largely from the Greek world. On Greek influences at the sanctuary of the Three Gauls see Richard (1992) 507–8. An oblong altar also occurs before the temple at Schönbuhl (below, pp. 121–2); cf. Hänlein-Schäfer (1985) 249 with n. 18, noting the oblong *Ara Incendii Neronis* at Rome.

[28] Altar horns appear without a central, upper slab on the following monuments:
ARA PACIS: *BMCRE* 1, Pl. 47, 2 (Nero).
ARA PROVIDENTIAE: *BMCRE* 2, Pl. 23, 12 (Vespasian); Pl. 27, 13 (Vespasian); Pl. 36, 8 (Vespasian); Pl. 39, 7 (Vespasian: Mattingly recognizes rounded cushions l. and r. rather than horns, p. 204).
SALVTI AVGVST.: *BMCRE* 2, Pl. 70, 7 (Domitian); Pl. 72, 1 (Domitian): two pilasters r. and l. of central door; cf. Pl. 74, 4–5 (Domitian).
PACIS: *BMCRE* 2, Pl. 74, 6 (Domitian): two figures on either side of altar.

[29] Horns are shown r. and l. of a central, upper slab on the following:
ARA PROVIDENTIAE: *BMCRE* 1, Pl. 25, 12 (Tiberius); Pl. 26, 2 (Tiberius); Pl. 64, 6–7 (Vitellius); *BMCRE* 2, Pl. 41, 1, cf. 42, 2 (Vespasian: Mattingly recognizes palmettes

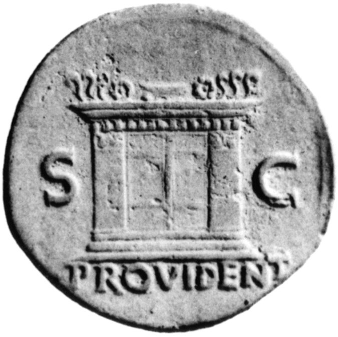

Plate 111. *As* of Vespasian, A.D. 77–8, showing Ara Providentiae.

prominently as on a coin of Vitellius (Pl. 112) or a coin, perhaps of Nicaea in Bithynia, showing a derivative altar of Zeus (Pl. 113).[30] The defining features of the precinct type of altar as shown on coins are thus a square enclosure, a closed door at the centre front of the *peribolos*, and a reference to the interior *mensa* by altar horns or a glimpse of its upper section, usually both. The fact that none of these characteristics are distinctive of the Lugdunum "altar" series tells strongly, therefore, against Dragendorff's interpretation of the monument. It might be added that a horizontal view was not in any case the only available method of depicting an altar court. Elsewhwere coins show either a bird's view as at Aperlae, Lycia (Pl. 114), or a representation in perspective as at the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Byblos, where the sacred stone rests upon its altar within an open court (Pl. 115).[31] Presumably either of these techniques could have been employed by the engraver had he wanted to portray an enclosed altar at Lugdunum.

Lastly, it is questionable whether an innovative Roman model under construction in 12 B.C. would have been simultaneously copied in Tres

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and volutes r. and l. of raised slab in centre, pp. 210, 214); Pl. 54, 2–3 (Titus).
DIVO VESP.: *BMCRE* 2, Pl. 48, 3 (Titus).
SALVTI AVGVSTI: *BMCRE* 2, Pl. 50, 1 (Titus: Mattingly recognizes precinct altar in form of temple showing four columns on podium of three steps, p. 261). On the *mensa* see Sibert (1999) 253–5.

[30] *BMCRE* 1, Pl. 64, no. 7; Price–Trell (1977) 99, 104 with fig. 188 (Trajan, A.D. 98–117).

[31] Price–Trell (1977) 22, 24 with figs. 18, 18A: Aperlae (Gordian III, A.D. 238–44); 24, 150, 153 with fig. 271: Byblos (Macrinus, A.D. 217–18). A well-known example of representation in perpective is the commemorative issue of Titus showing the tiers of spectators watching games inside the Colosseum: Price–Trell, *o.c.* 60–1, 67 with fig. 110.

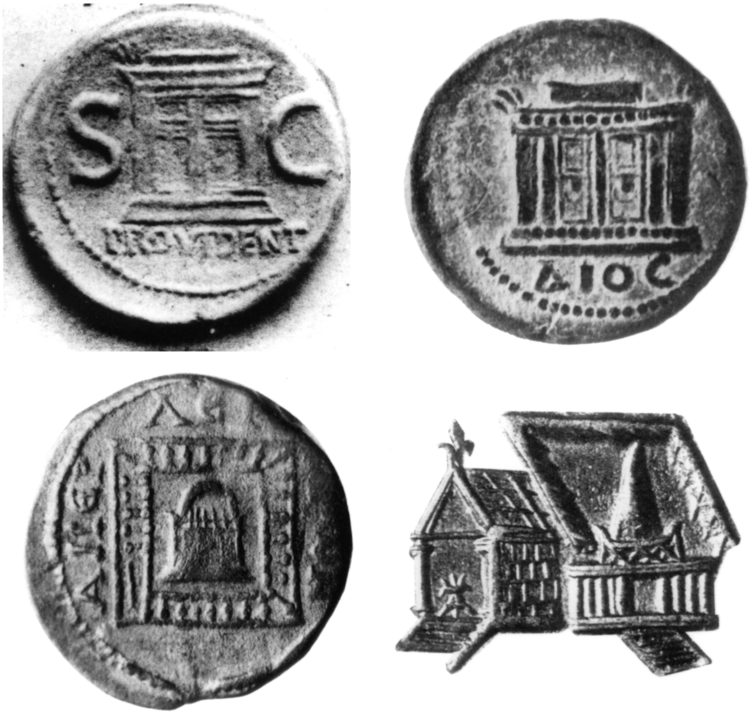

Plate 112. *As* of Vitellius, A.D. 69, showing Ara Providentiae. Plate 113. Altar of Zeus at Bithynia; coin of Trajan, A.D. 98–117. Plate 114. Altar court at Aperlae, Lycia; coin of Gordian III, A.D. 238–44. Plate 115. Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Byblos, Phoenicia; coin of Macrinus, A.D. 217–18.

Galliae when in Italy the Ara Pacis apparently remained unique until the reign of Tiberius. Certainly Augustus was Pontifex Maximus in 12 B.C. following the death of Lepidus in the previous year, so in a position to inspire an imperial monument at Lugdunum.[32] His own stepson, the Elder Drusus, was also the Roman official responsible at Lugdunum. Yet whether the altar was dedicated in 12 B.C. or 10 B.C., it must have been essentially finished before the dedication of the Ara Pacis in 9 B.C., in which case such a precinct altar at Lugdunum would have been, if only briefly, the single example of its type in Rome, Italy and the entire western empire. Is that at all likely? Elsewhere this type of altar seems unknown in the Latin provinces apart from the modest structure before the temple in Calle Claudio Marcelo at Corduba as interpreted by Garcia y Bellido and others (Pl. 102).[33] On the whole, then, probability still favours the standard view that what one sees on the Lugdunum coins is the front face of the altar itself, not the *peribolos* of the precinct. Proof of the point either way is naturally out of the question. As noted by both A. Audin and F. Bérard in conversation, the only hope for the future is that some early manuscript may yet appear with information on the monument before it was dismantled.

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[32] Fishwick, Carthage (1995) 242.

The details of the coin types and the interpretation of their imagery have already received detailed treatment.[34] It is now certain that the front of the monument is engraved with representations of the honours granted Augustus by decree of the senate in 27 B.C. (*RG* 34, 2). At the centre one can plainly see the *corona civica*, which was granted the emperor *ob cives servatos* and fixed above his door, while at either side appear the two laurel trees that stood at the entrance of Augustus' home. Whether the *clupeus virtutis* inscribed with his qualities might have appeared elsewhere on the altar is unknown—there is at any rate no sign of it on the coins—but at either extremity are what look to be laurel crowns with hanging fillets, presumably corresponding to the crowns held by the attendant Victories. Exceptionally, this motif is replaced by figures best interpreted as dancing Lares (Vol. I, 1, Pl. XII)[35]—evidently the engraver felt free to vary motifs from issue to issue. The association of these symbols with the twin figures of Victory, a combination well in evidence elsewhere, is to be explained in terms of the Theology of Victory, the political myth that justified Augustus' usurpation of power and conferred divine legitimation upon his new order. There can be no question, therefore, that this is a Roman monument set up by the imperial authorities in celebration of Roman imperial rule. It provides a striking example of that visual symbolism by which imperial ideology was deliberately projected where it might make the strongest impression upon provincial consciousness.[36]

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[33] *Id.* (1970) with figs. 3 and 4. See most recently Jiménez (1989–90) with refs.; *id.* (1991); (1996).

[34] Vol. I, 1, 106ff.; Pelletier–Rossiaud (1990) 45–8.

[35] Doubted by Trillmich (1988) 525, noting that *HCC* 1, 46, n. 237 is also unusual in showing steps below the altar (see Vol. I, 1, Pl. XII). The type Trillmich reproduces looks less like a dancing Lar than is the case with other examples, but clearly the great number of coins issued and the varied talents of the engravers go far to explaining variations in the representation of essentially the same figure: cf. C. Benoit in Fishwick, Autel (1986) 111.

[36] Zanker (1990) 307–39 *et passim*; Tranoy–Ayala (1994) 182. See further below, pp. 218–19.

The link with Victory suggests by far the likeliest explanation of the date of 1st August, when the altar was dedicated; as the Fasti show, the day was not only the *natalis* of the temples of Victory and Victoria Virgo, both on the Palatine, but more importantly the anniversary of Octavian's triumph at Alexandria and the death of Anthony.[37] That the priest of the Three Gauls took office on the same day is a possible inference which lacks conclusive proof—we have seen that the priestly year in Baetica looks to have coincided with the calendar year[38]—but it seems at all events clear that this was the date of the annual festival which Dio reports to have been still celebrated around "the Altar of Augustus" in his own day (CD 54, 32, 1). Whether the festival was grafted onto a pre-Roman celebration of Lug is a moot question outside the scope of the pesent discussion, but there can be no question that the altar was the focal point of the annual fête at Lugdunum with its rites, processions and spectacles.[39] Such a festival seems unique in the west, though every provincial council evidently met at least once a year. The character of the celebrations as an attraction that lasted several days and drew attendance from "all the nations" is brought out by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 5, 1, 47), whose account culminates in the martydom of the Christians in A.D. 177. All the signs are that the second stage of their punishment coincided with the festival at the Confluence, therefore *ca.* August 1st.[40]

Lastly, the coins show two central *aediculae* which appear to hold small statues, convincingly identified by R. Turcan as those of Roma and Augustus, while the upper torsos of humanoid figures are ranged on either side of the shrines. On Turcan's view these are not objects placed on the altar but rather representations "à l'arrière plan" of the tribes of Gallia Comata, statues of which are stated by Strabo to have stood near the altar (see further below, pp. 124–5); if so, they appear on the coins behind the (unseen) back wall of the enclosure. The *aediculae* Turcan would place at the centre of the *hieron*, perhaps behind the (unseen) sacrificial *ara*[41]—an unusual, if not unparalleled, arrangement. Interpretation reduces in the final analysis to a matter of personal judgement, but the alternative opinion defended earlier is that the

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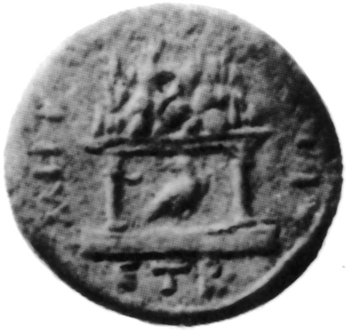
[37] Drinkwater (1983) 112–13; Vol. I, 1, 118.

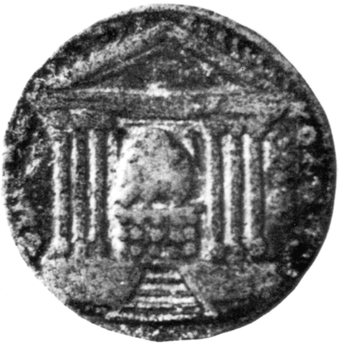
[38] Vol. III, 2, 226–31.

[39] Allmer–Dissard (1889–93) 2, 232; Vol. I, 1, 99–100; Pelletier–Rossiaud (1990) 27, 199; Turcan (1991) 737, 740–1.

[40] Vol. II, 1, 578–9; Pelletier–Rossiaud, *o.c.* 216ff.

[41] Vol. I, 1, 120–5 with refs.; Turcan's view is followed by Richard (1991) 206.





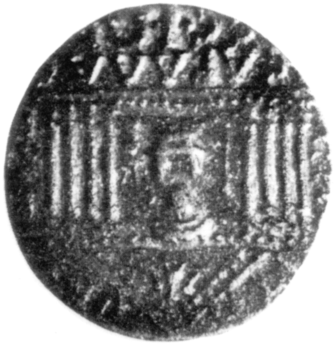


Plate 116. Bronze coin of Caesarea, Cappadocia, showing *agalma* of Mount Argaeus placed on altar; coin of Septimius Severus, A.D. 193–211. Plate 117. Cult stone above altar at Temple of Elagabalus, Emesa; coin of Caracalla, A.D. 216. Plate 118. Bust above altar in temple at Sagalassus, Pisidia; coin of Volusian, A.D. 253–8.

figures are rather busts which stand *upon* the *mensa* (like the *aediculae*) and will have been carried in procession at festivals of the ruler cult. In that case they must represent imperial personages, perhaps accompanied by the delegates of the Gallic tribes. Interestingly, a variant issue now at Heidelberg seems to show the figures with hand outstretched as if in the act of sacrificing (Vol. I, Pl. XVII), a gesture which suggests a link with rites. Would the sixty tribes have ever been represented by statues in a pose so suppliant? Where the busts would normally have been housed is difficult to say—perhaps in the *curia* of the federal council pending construction of the provincial temple, at which their ultimate repository will have been the *pronaos*.[42] The fact that the holy things would on this view be resting on the altar only temporarily tells in any event

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[42] Audin–Fishwick (1990) 661–2. For a portable *aedicula* at Pompeii, possibly elsewhere, see Vol. II, 1, 554, 557 with Pl. CIIIa; Fishwick, *Aedicula* (1995).

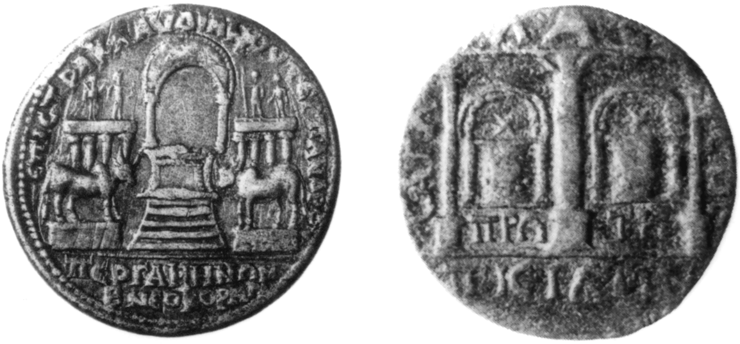

Plate 119. Altar of Zeus at Pergamum; coin of Septimius Severus, A.D. 193–211. Plate 120. Double shrine with two altars at Sagalassus, Pisidia; coin of Valerian, A.D. 253–8.

against the objection that neither statues nor any other object stood on a Greco-Roman altar.[43] Such a situation is uncommon but it may be noted that cult objects (Pls. 115–17), including an oversized bust in one instance (Pl. 118), occasionally appear on altars in the Greek east,[44] as also do a variety of other objects.[45] Baldachins too are sometimes placed above altars (Pls. 119–20)—that on the tomb of the Haterii provides an illustrative Roman example (Pl. 121).[46] Whether the statues from the

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[43] For the point that Greek coins do occasionally show an *agalma* or other objects placed upon an altar see Vol. I, 1, 123 with n. 183 and refs.; cf. Fishwick, Coinage (1999) 101. G.-Ch. Picard in Fishwick, Autel (1986) 110, suggests that the objects represented will have had some sort of support, independent of the altar.

[44] Like the sacred stone upon the altar within the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Byblos (above, note 296, Pl. 115), a cult stone appears above the altar at the temple of Elagabalus at Emesa: Price–Trell (1977) 168, fig. 297 (Caracalla, A.D. 216, Pl. 117) and on the altar of Dusares at Adraa: Price–Trell, *o.c.* 212, fig. 442 (Commodus, A.D. 177–91), while coins of Caesarea in Cappadocia show an *agalma* of Mount Argaeus placed on a altar: Wroth (1964) xxxviii-ix, 72, nos. 212ff.;, 80–1, nos. 270ff. (Septimius Severus, A.D. 193–211; fig. 64, Pl. 116) *et passim*. For a large bust above the altar in the temple at Sagalassus (Volusinian, A.D. 253–8 ) see Price–Trell (1977) 202, fig. 394, Pl. 118; cf. the head of Augustus within his temple at Teos: Price–Trell, *o.c.* 194, fig. 356; Price (1984) 259.

[45] In addition to the vertical objects above the altar at Aperlae, Lycia (above, n. 31, Pl. 114), the chariot of Helios surmounts the monumental altar of Zeus Stratios at Amaseia—on some variants with an eagle in front of the horses: Price–Trell (1977) 93, fig. 163 (Caracalla, A.D. 209). Similarly a statue of Parius or a chariot group crowns the altar at Parium: Price–Trell, *o.c.* 121, figs. 214–15 (Gallienus, A.D. 253–68). Again, a snake is shown on an altar at Claudioseleuceia, Pisidia: Price–Trell, *o.c.* 208, fig. 428 (Tranquillina, A.D. 238–44).

[46] For the baldachin above the altar at Aperlae see above p. 115, Pl. 114. The stepped altar of Zeus at Pergamum likewise has a bronze baldachin probably erected in the Imperial period: Price–Trell (1977) 119, 123, fig. 217 (Septimius Severus, A.D. 193–211,

*aediculae* would have been transported—or even the *aediculae* themselves enclosing the statues—can hardly be said, but portable *aediculae* are well in evidence elsewhere.[47]

## iii. *The Amphitheatre*

Thanks to the discovery in 1958 of the well-known inscription recording the liberality of C. Iulius Rufus and his cousin(?) (*ILA, Santons* 7; Vol. I, 1, Pl. XX), it is now clear that the first stage of the amphitheatre was under construction before A.D. 18/19, so earlier than any other structure of its kind in Roman Gaul.[48] The site chosen was midway up the slope of the plateau of Croix-Rousse, at the western end of the terraces of the federal sanctuary, an architectural link that brings out the close association of the amphitheatre with celebrations of the imperial cult. Attention may be called in this connection to the *vomitoria* which lead from the direction of the sanctuary into the amphitheatre and will have facilitated the staging of ritual processions that entered the arena facing the imposing tribunal situated on the west side of the *cavea* (Vol. I, 1, Pls. XXI–XXII, cf. XXIII–XXIV).[49]

Architectural details fall outside the scope of the present discussion but it is worth recalling that the combined archaeological and epigraphical evidence points to two successive edifices. The amphitheatre of C. Iulius Rufus consisted of a *podium* with perhaps four low tiers that apparently supported movable seats (*bisellia*), each place occupying about 0.40m. Evidently places were reserved for the use of delegates from the Gallic tribes, who attended the games held in conjunction with the annual meeting of the council at the festival of August

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Pl. 119), while at the double shrine of Sagalassus in Pisidia each of the two altars is equipped with a baladachin: Price–Trell, *o.c.* 144–5, fig. 256 (Valerian, A.D. 253–8, Pl. 120). Of particular interest for present purposes is the baldachin shown above an altar on the sarcophagus of the Haterii: Price–Trell, *o.c.* 123, 125, fig. 219 (late first century A.D.: Pl. 121).

[47] For a wall painting at Pompeii showing four bearers carrying a *ferculum* with *aedicula* see Burford (1972) 48–9 with fig. 12. For *aediculae* in the Greek east shown on wheels or fitted with carry bars see Price–Trell (1977) 216–17.

[48] On the amphitheatre at Lugdunum see Maurin (1978) 182, 192; Golvin (1988) 117–18, 197, 357 with extensive bibliography; Pelletier–Rossiaud (1990) 48–53; Vol. I, 1, 133–5; I, 2, 314–15. Archaeological exploration of the monument dates essentially from 1956. For a helpful synthesis see Tranoy–Ayala (1994) 180–2 with refs.

[49] Vol. II, 1, 557; Pelletier–Rossiaud, *o.c.* 51–2. For a similar arrangement at Amiens see Étienne (1985) 24.

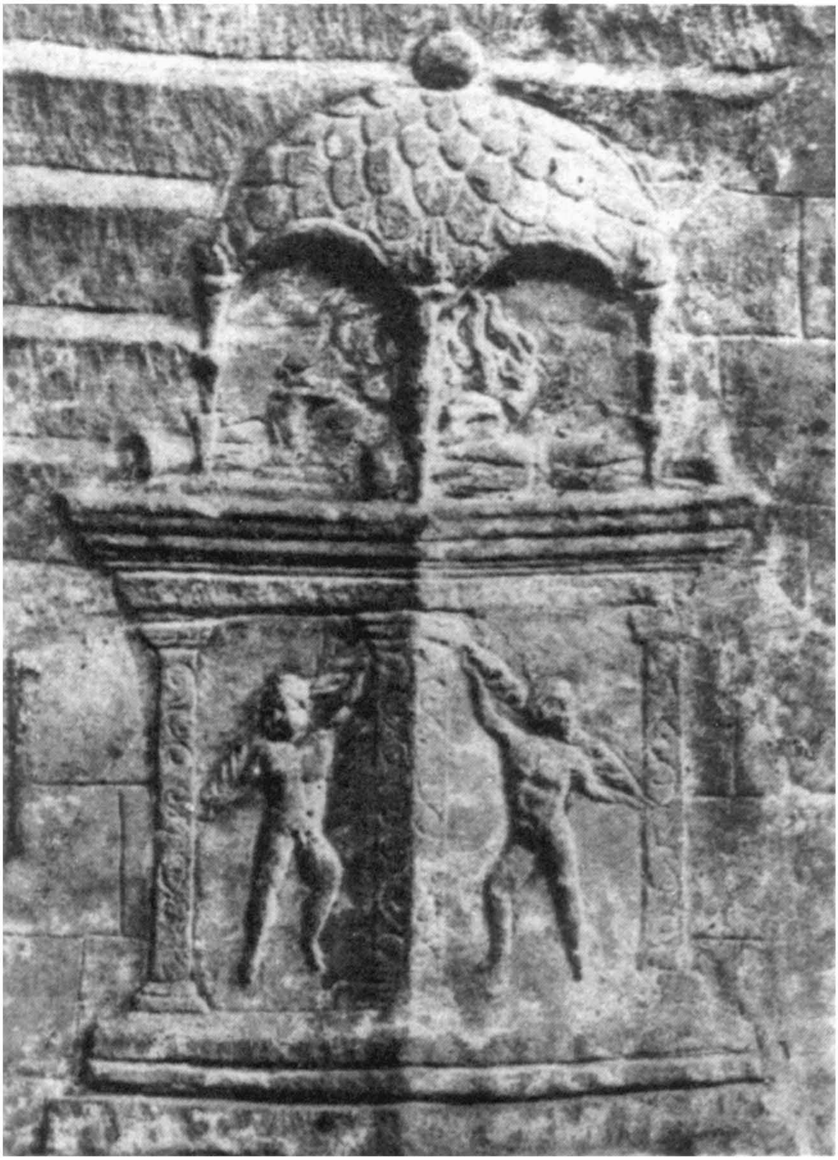

Plate 121. Altar from Haterii sarcophagus, late 1st century A.D.

1st; other spectators will have had to stand. The number of delegates involved is not known but the total capacity of the structure has been calculated at about 1800 places. A tribunal or *pulvinar* about 15m long at the western end of the small axis must have accommodated official personages, as there is no corresponding structure on the opposite side. The proportions of the arena, built into the rock face, have recently been calculated at just under 68 by 42m, slightly shorter but rather broader than those of the amphitheatres at Arles and Nîmes, though the structure as a whole was of modest size in comparison and looks to have orignally comprised a single *maenianum*.

During the first half of the second century A.D. various architectural modifications opened up the games to the inhabitants of the colony by increasing seating capacity. Until recently, the extension has been attributed without question to C. Iulius Celsus, who had been *dilectator* in Aquitania and *curator* of the Via Lignaria Triumphalis before being posted to Lugdunum as *procurator* of Lugdunensis and Aquitania between A.D. 130 and 136.[50] The *cavea* was enlarged to a width of almost 38m by the construction of two eliptical galleries and the general proportions brought to just over 143 by 117m on Golvin's figures—closer therefore to those of the amphitheatres at Arles and Nîmes, though still smaller overall. Elements of inscribed tiers from this period show that places were now reserved not only for representatives of the Gallic tribes (Arverni, Bituriges Cubi, Tricasses) but also for invited delegates from Narbonensis (Glanici) as well as for various colleges and corporations at Lugdunum such as the *severi Augustales*, butchers (*macellarii*) and others.[51]

It remains to add that a marble fragment showing a finely-crafted oak swag, though dated on stylistic grounds to the Augustan period, should probably be attributed to the amphitheatre rather than, say, the sides or back of the federal altar (Vol. I, 1, Pls. VIb, VII).[52] Given that the piece was found among the marble debris near the south end of the amphitheatre, it might well originate from the imperial tribunal constructed at the middle of the west side. This attribution looks supported by the fact that the relief includes two axes, around the better preserved of which is intertwined a lash, while opposite the blade is a human head.

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[50] *ILTG* 218 (found in the channel of the *podium*), cf. *CIL* 13, 1808. See in particular Guey–Audin (1964) 47–9, no. 10 with Pflaum (1960) 253–7, no. 106 bis (135), cf. add. 969–72. The hypothesis is based on the fragmentary inscription from the amphitheatre and the techniques employed in construction, the chronology of which has been modified by later studies. Tranoy–Ayala (1994) 182, note that the current attribution to C. Iulius Celsus needs supporting by a new analysis of the architecture of the amphitheatre complemented by soundings that might throw new light on the problem.

[51] Allmer–Dissard (1889–93) 2, 33–7, nos. 97–100; Maurin (1978) 200; Vol. I, 2, 315, n. 44; Tranoy–Ayala (1994) 181 with nn. 67–71 and refs.

[52] Vol. I, 1, 106 with n. 62.

### iv. *The Temple*

The existence of a temple within the Lugdunum sanctuary is asssured by the titles of the provincial priests which at some uncertain point begin to associate the priesthood of the Three Gauls with a federal temple; until then the formula refers in one way or another only to the altar. The change in emphasis evidently followed an important modification of the cult whereby the worship was extended to include deified emperors.[53] The case has already been made for attributing this development to Hadrian, who looks to have commissioned construction on the occasion of his visit to the Three Gauls in A.D. 121.[54] That the new building will have stood in close proximity to the altar seems implied by priestly titles that by the close of the second century record the formula *ad aram … apud templum* or variant. But that is about as far as direct evidence goes. A reference in Strabo to τό τε ἱεϱὸν τὸ ἀναδειχϑὲν ὑπὸ πάντων κοινῇ τῶν Γαλατῶν Καίσαϱι τῷ Σεβαστῷ (4, 3, 2; p. 192) has sometimes been taken to refer to the temple but must surely refer to the dedication of the sanctuary, given the date at which Strabo was writing.[55]

As for archaeological evidence, the presumed site has long since been built over, though soundings have encountered stone work conceivably attributable to a temple. Potential architectural remains include two sections of a marble achitrave discovered east of the amphitheatre: Audin adopts the customary attribution of these and infers a portico of 12 metres and a structure more than 18m high.[56] There is also the possibility that the fragmentary marble plaque bearing traces of the inset for the letters RO, part of the dedication *Romae et Augusto*, may derive from the temple frieze rather than the federal altar (above, p. 111). Otherwise we are left with the very uncertain testimony of a medallion from the Rhône valley, which might include the provincial temple and a Victory column among the monuments it illustrates (Vol. I, 2, Pl. LXIIIb).[57] Unsatisfactory as it is, the evidence nevertheless points to the existence of a temple that would presumably have been situated at the rear of the provincial altar on the axis of the *temenos*. Analogy with imperial temples elsewhere, such as the municipal "Temple of Diana" at Emerita Augusta, raises the possibility that access to the *podium* will have been provided by lateral stairways, while the standard architectural scheme suggests that the *temenos* will have been enclosed by a portico as at Tarraco, for example, but for none of this has direct evidence survived. Narrowness of space lead Audin to suppose a temple with a *cella* more broad than deep, like that of the temple of Concordia on the Forum Romanum or of the partially disinterred temple in Calle Holguín at Mérida (above, pp. 43, 52). Architecturally the temple must in any event have dwarfed the federal altar, which will presumably have served henceforth much as the altar before any temple. That it later regained its ancient pre-eminence is nevertheless clear from inscriptions which attest its central role within the cult: … *ad aram Caes. n. / Caess. nn. apud templum* ….[58]

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[53] Vol. III, 1, 13–19.

[54] Vol. I, 2, 308–16.

[55] Allmer–Dissard, *o.c.* 26; Jones (1917) 2, 223.

[56] *Id.* (1956) 154.

## v. *Other Monuments*

Strabo reports that near the Altar of the Three Gauls stood representations of the sixty Gallic tribes: … καὶ εἰκονες τούτων ἑκάστου μία … (4, 3, 2; p. 192). No trace of these has been found, though on the view of R. Turcan they are to be recognized in the anthropoid busts on either side of central *aediculae* shown above the altar on the coins (above, p. 117). In contrast R. R. R. Smith, who likewise takes the altar to be of the precinct type, has proposed that a set of sixty *ethnos* reliefs, based on similar sculptures at Rome, will have decorated the *peribolos*, just as a similar series of differently composed, single draped females, each personifying a people or a province conquered by Augustus, occurs at the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias.[59] Such a view would be excluded if, as argued, the coins show not the precinct wall but the front face of an oblong altar, since this could hardly have accommodated so many panels when the front side was decorated with Augustan ensigns.[60] The epigraph with the names of sixty tribes must at all events have been a written rather than an iconographic record.

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[57] Vol. I, 2, 308 with n. 5 and refs.

[58] Vol. I, 2, 317ff.

[59] Smith (1987) 95–6. See Fishwick, Gallic Tribes (1989).

A more precise point arises from the vocabulary and syntax of Strabo's description. While εἰκόνες might refer to reliefs, the more usual meaning is that of a standing representation, often enough a bust. The term has consequently been always understood in the sense of statues which will have stood apart from the altar, as surely implied by the nominative (rather than the accusative) case. It follows that the statues of these tribes will have stood in the federal sanctuary nearby the altar—the sense in which Turcan understands Strabo, whether or not the statues were represented on the coins. As F. Richard has recently re-emphasized, the practice of representing the Gallic tribes by statues should be attributed to Greek influences, such as are discernible behind the inclusion of Roma alongside the emperor or the very notion of an assembly of delegates from different *civitates*.[61] How exactly the Gallic tribes were represented is impossible to say in the absence of any tangible trace.[62] There can in any event be no doubt that the federal sanctuary fairly bristled with statues. The inscriptions from the monuments to provincial priests reveal that in contrast to the practice at Tarraco, for instance, the federal council erected statues with inscribed bases not only to the priest himself but also to members of his family—his wife, his father, his son and other relatives—all resting on a common stylobate. This practice of representing a past priest *en famille* is again Greek.[63] If one adds statues set up on the initiative of the priests themselves and statues, both to the priest and his relatives, erected by a man's *civitas*,[64] it becomes clear that the sanctuary must have grown into a forest of statues.

Our knowledge of further structures at the sanctuary is slight, but the remains may now have been identified of the *podium* belonging to the hall where Gallic delegates assembled. If so, the fragments of a restored dedication suggest that this *curia* was under the protection of Bonus Eventus and Fortuna Favens.[65] Some sort of premises, whether in a building of this kind or elsewhere, should presumably be also associated with such offices as *iudex* or *adlectus arcae Galliarum* (*CIL* 13, 1686, 1707–8, 1688, 1709), *inquisitor Galliarum* (*CIL* 13, 1690, 1695, 1697, 1703, 3528) and *tabularius Galliarum* (*CIL* 13, 1725).[66] On the site of the Hötel du Parc, it has been suggested, may have stood a cult place dedicated to the *numina Augustorum*, but F. Richard has now shown that this hypothesis mis-interprets a series of altars *ca.* 1.40m high that were dedicated to the *numina Augustorum* and placed centrally before the stylobates supporting statues of the provincial priest and his family.[67] Such altars were evidently intended to receive offerings—libations and sacrifices—at the ceremonies of the sanctuary or conceivably on the occasion of visits by relatives or compatriots of the priest,[68] so on Richard's view their consecration before a priest's familial monument was a way of perpetuating his sacerdotal functions and recalling the raison d'être of his memorial.[69]

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[60] Fishwick, Coinage (1999) 102.

[61] Richard (1992) 507–8. See earlier *id.* (1991) 208ff., stressing the originality of portraying the Gallic peoples allegorically in Gaul.

[62] Richard (1991) 210 reasonably infers that the attitude of the statues will have reflected the role of the delegates at the federal centre, so would have portrayed the Gallic tribes in a positive light.

[63] Vol. I, 1, 136 with n. 267; Pelletier–Rossiaud (1990) 54 with n. 37. For the Greek background see in detail Richard (1992) 505–7.

[64] Vol. III, 2, 23–4.

We also have the front right leg of a colossal equestrian statue in gilded bronze, conjecturally attributed to Claudius,[70] though other equestrian statues are known to have stood *ad aram* (*CIL* 13, 1680).[71] These are meagre vestiges of an area once thick with remains but used by mediaeval builders as a quarry, hence the fourteenth-century name Périer; what once was there was scattered and eventually re-used in the lower city. Otherwise it is worth noting the famous tablet which records Claudius' speech to the Senate in A.D. 48, supporting the claim of prominent citizens of Gallia Comata to hold public office at Rome (*CIL* 13, 1668). This was discovered close to the church of St. Polycarp in 1528 but where it was originally posted is a matter for conjecture; analogy would suggest the wall of some public building.[72] We have seen that temples were often enough used for such secular purposes,[73] but in this case the Temple of the Three Gauls is excluded, at least initially, by its Hadrianic date of construction.[74] As for the circus, the existence of which is confirmed by the magnificent mosaic of Ainay (Pl. 156), nothing goes to indicate that it lay anywhere near the provincial centre; the arrangement at Tarraco looks to be unique in this respect. On the contrary A. Audin has proposed that the bottom of the vale of Trion, about 120m from the church of St. Irenaeus, would fit the requirements for a site. An inscription discovered here records that the corporation of *centonarii* had restored at their own expense the places at the circus which Ianuarius had donated (*CIL* 13, 1805). With this may compared an earlier inscription found at Bellecour, where it had been re-used, confirming the gift of 500 places at the circus by the aedile Sex. Iulius Ianuarius (*CIL* 13, 1919). If Audin is right, the circus at Lugdunum will in that case have lain on the opposite side of the town from the *pagus* Condate, where the federal sanctuary is situated (Vol. II, 1, Pl. CIX).[75]

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[65] Audin–Reynaud (1977–81); *AE* (1980), 634; cf. Vol. I, 1, 136.

[66] Vol. III, 2, 46–55.

[67] Richard (1999) 388ff., demonstrating that in the sector of the Hôtel du Parc two of the four known monuments with their complementary altars commemorated Ti. Claudius Genialis and Ti. Eppius Bellicus (*CIL* 13, 1677: rectilinear; 1692: semicircular). To these traces he adds the altar set up by L. Faenius Rufus and his son L. Faenius Rufus Apollinaris (*CIL* 13, 1776), who was associated possibly because he was destined to follow in his father's footsteps as provincial priest; cf. *CIL* 13, 1704 (Petrucorii: Vol. III, 2, Pl. 27), 1699, 1700 (Lemovices).

[68] For the imaginative suggestion that these altars were visited by processions and choirs see Allmer–Dissard (1889–93) 2, 130.

[69] *Id.*, *o.c.* 390, noting the omission of Roma from the formula now that the emperor alone symbolized the empire, and that dedications are made to the *numina* of past and present *Augusti* collectively.

[70] Audin (1956) 155, calculating the height of the horse at *ca.* 3m, that of the monument (including pedestal and rider) at *ca.* 6m. For the fragment of the bronze horse and other bronze relics remarkable for their quality and size see Tranoy–Ayala (1994) 187.

[71] For the posssibility of a symmetrical arrangement of statues at the Camulodunum sanctuary see below, p. 144.

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[72] Audin, *o.c.* 154–5, noting Carcopino's suggestion that the tablet might have been attached to the base of a statue of Claudius; Tranoy–Ayala (1994) 183.

[73] Vol. I, 1, 137, n. 275.

[74] Contra Allmer–Dissard (1889–93) 2, 29, suggesting that Claudius' discourse might have been attached to one of the walls of the temple.

[75] Audin, *o.c.* 120–1; Humphrey (1986) 85, 216–18, 398–401; Pelletier–Rossiaud (1990) 54. Cf. the site of the second circus at Corduba, west of the city beside the Palatium Maximiani.

## CHAPTER FIVE

# NARBO MARTIUS

Founded in 118 B.C., the colony of Narbo Martius was the capital of Gallia Narbonensis and residence of the provincial governor.[1] All analogy suggests, therefore, that like Tarraco, Emerita or Corduba it will have been the seat of the provincial cult. Neither literary nor numismatic sources provide any evidence in support but eight provincial priests along with one *flaminica provinciae* are attested, among whom only one incumbent is in fact recorded on an inscription found at Narbonne (*CIL* 12, 4323).[2] In practice, then, the testimony at our disposal is primarily archaeological with the exception of a key inscription which has proved to be the most important document regulating a provincial cult ever to have emerged in the entire western Roman Empire (*CIL* 12, 6038 = *ILS* 6964). The fact that the so-called *lex de flamonio provinciae Narbonensis* was found on the site of what was evidently a vast enclave situated by the amphitheatre on the eastern edge of Narbonne identifies the zone beyond reasonable doubt as the provincial centre of Narbonese Gaul.[3]

## i. *The Amphitheatre*

No mention of the amphitheatre occurs in the verses of Ausonius or Sidonius Apollinaris nor has any relevant inscription yet accrued, but remnants of the structure itself are mentioned as early as the opening of the seventeenth century and its precise location has been established since 1838.[4] The fundamental study of the building remains that published by A. Du Mège in 1841 on the strength of his partial exploration of the site;[5] old though it is, this still provides the basis of our present knowledge, although mislocated, still unpublished excavations were undertaken in 1950 and further soundings carried out by Y. Solier in 1963 and 1964.[6] For purposes of the present discussion it will suffice to observe that the amphitheatre is situated on flat terrain at the eastern outskirts of the Roman town and formed an elipse, the overall dimensions of which were 121.60 by 93.20m with an arena 75.00m long and 46.60m wide. A large gate at the end of each axis, a peripheral gallery, and 72 arched openings of *ca.* 2m that pierced the eliptical exterior, clearly place the edifice among the great amphitheatres constructed across the empire from the Flavian period onwards. In fact its arena of 2731m$^2$ is the largest in Narbonensis and the building itself is surpassed in Gaul only by the amphitheatres of Arles and Nîmes, with which it compares closely in general appearance. While the overall style of the structure is entirely unknown, the comparable proportions of the amphitheatre at Toulouse suggest it will have been entirely appropriate to a provincial centre. As for the entertainment it facilitated, inscriptions along with reliefs and figured tablets document both gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts.[7] When precisely construction took place is not known but the Flavian period would fit the inferred date of the sanctuary, which seems to have been roughly contemporaneous with the provincial enclosure at Tarraco. Unlike the arrangement here, however, no trace survives at Narbo of the circus, the existence of which looks to be indicated by bas-reliefs representing chariot races.[8] A site on the periphery of the city can nevertheless be expected as at Mérida, Corduba or Carthage.

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[1] Gayraud (1981) 119ff.

[2] Gayraud, *o.c.* 397–408.

[3] Jullian (1908–26) 4, 429, n. 3; Grenier (1958) 3, 1, 139; Pailler (1989) 188. *Contra* Le Roux (1994) 410, nn. 55–6, claiming that nothing proves the existence of a provincial sanctuary on the periphery of Narbonne and rejecting the analogy with the scheme at Tarraco. The quotation (n. 56) from Fishwick, Don (1992) 401, is taken out of context and refers to the debate over the municipal temple and Capitolium of Narbo Martius, not to the provincial enclave; cf. 387. For a survey of soundings showing the site of the provincial sanctuary see now Dellong (2002) 131–2 with figs. 62–3, 381–93 (151*–164*), especially 382–3.

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[4] Grenier (1958) 3, 2, 640–2; Gayraud (1981) 274–8, suggesting that the amphitheatre may have been destroyed by the time of Sidonius Apollinaris; Golvin (1988) 192–3; Vol. I, 2, 254–6 with refs.; *PECS* 607–8 (Gayraud–Solier).

[5] Du Mège (1840–41) 401–8 with precise figures.

[6] *Id.* (1965). For the plan drawn in 1838 with indication of later soundings see Vol. I, 2, Pl. LIII. Details of archaeological exploration of the amphitheatre up to the latest findings are now summarized by Dellong (2002) 132 with fig. 63, 381–2 (151*) with figs. 447–9.

[7] Gayraud (1981) 278, nn. 218–23 with refs.

[8] Gayraud, *o.c.* 274; Humphrey (1986) 409.

## ii. *The Provincial Centre*

Adjacent to the amphitheatre, some 18m to the north-west, Du Mège recognised the long side of a huge portico, about 160m in length. The stylobate of this supported a double row of columns that were set 1.60m apart and enclosed a gallery 8.50m wide, the total width of the portico on these sides reaching 17m. The short sides in contrast were marked by a single colonnade that extended from each end.[9] Access to the enclosure was evidently by way of a projection 7m deep by 12.5m wide, to all appearances an elegant peristyle with four columns facing inward and the same number outwards, the whole forming an integral part of the portico itself. Since the peristyle lay at what Du Mège took to be the centre of the short north side, 47.40m from the angle of convergence with the long side, he calculated the small side of the enclosure to measure a total of 107.30m. A similar entrance appeared to be lacking in the portico of the opposite parallel side.

As Du Mège had realised when the amphitheatre was first prospected, the sumptuous columned porticoes enclosed the substructures of a vast complex which patently included other monuments decorated with marble reliefs.[10] Already in October 1887, a swimming pool had come to light, some 12m long by 9–10m wide, into which bathers descended by three steps. Water was conveyed by brick conduits that traversed a hypocaust and emptied through a long lead pipe with bronze valve placed in the lowest part of the slightly inclined, marble faced bottom; a massive main pipe with a diameter of 0.56m was subsequently found near the amphitheatre in 1921. Quite clearly, the pool was part of a large public bathing establishment as all around were vestiges of rooms paved with mosaics, their walls still flecked with traces of red colour, also rich monumental remnants including two stone columns and a fine Corinthian capital. The pool itself was littered with debris that included marble facings and cornices, fragments of statues, antefixes and mosaics—plainly the remains of one or more other buildings that had stood nearby.

By far the most important discovery, however, emerged from the swimming pool in January 1888, when a broken bronze tablet was retrieved inscribed with part of the celebrated Lex Narbonensis.[11] Thirty lines of text are preserved in part, regulating in one clause the rights and duties of the provincial *flamen* of Gallia Narbonensis, including the position of his wife, while two other clauses deal respectively with the provincial assembly and financial matters. The precise legal status of what has generally been taken to be a *lex data* is uncertain[12] but what is at all events clear from the language is that this a Roman law which must have emanated from the central government, probably the emperor Vespasian, certainly not the *curia* of Narbo Martius or the *concilium provinciae*.

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[9] *Id.* (1840–41) 406–7.

[10] On the discovery of the swimming pool and associated structures see Dellong (2002) 131, 385–7 (155*) with figs. 453–4, 389–90 (158*).

Of particular interest in the present context is a reference to the conditional right of the retiring *flamen* to set up a suitably inscribed statue of himself *intra fines eius templi* (line 13), plainly a reference to the provincial temple mentioned elsewhere (line 30, cf. ?11, ?28).[13] No archaeological trace of this temple has been identified and the details of the cult which it served are debatable.[14] What does seem to be established beyond question is that with an enactment governing the provincial cult of Narbonensis, in addition to a temple, an amphitheatre, a portico and other monuments, including a public facility for bathing, the enclosure where all this came to light must have been the provincial sanctuary of Narbonese Gaul—a complex like that at Tarraco or Lugdunum, therefore. In further support of this conclusion, lines 22–3 of the law refer to meetings of the provincial council at Narbo, though there is no indication in the extant text of precisely where.[15]

A particular feature of the sanctuary to which attention should be drawn is its location towards the edge of the city, as at Tarraco or Camulodunum (below, p. 137). A convincing conjecture of Gayraud helps to fill out the overall picture in this respect.[16] As no vestige of the great fire of A.D. 145 has been found at the centre of the city, whereas there are considerable traces in the ring of villas located to the north and east, he infers that the provincial enclave itself may have been trapped in the blaze and destroyed, at least in part. If so, an inscription recording the restoration by Antoninus Pius of baths that have been consumed by fire, along with porticos and basilicas could very well refer to monuments at the provincial centre.[17] As for statues, we have seen that one of the provisions of the Lex Narbonensis specifically concerns the right of a retiring *flamen* to have his likeness set up within the *temenos* of the temple, provided he has done nothing in contravention of the statute and the council so wills (lines 10–13).[18] In that case one could reasonably expect the sanctuary at Narbo, like other provincial enclaves, to have been cluttered with statues of provincial priests, not to mention those of emperors and other members of the imperial house. The absence of any vestige of such statues in the zone, the complete lack of bases in particular, is consequently puzzling. Whether the possible destruction of the sanctuary could be partially responsible can hardly be said. More likely, the fact that the zone was never properly excavated before it disappeared under modern housing is largely to blame. We have seen that neither at Tarraco have any statues been retrieved, only the bases on which some of these were mounted.

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[11] Gayraud, *o.c.* 384ff. with photograph of the Lex Narbonensis at 391. In addition to the extensive bibliography given by Gayraud see Williamson (1987) 173–89 with bibl. at n. 1. For the recovery of the bronze plaque recording the law see Dellong (2002) 388–90 (158*), giving the text and translation. For commentary see Vol. III, 4, Addenda.

[12] Williamson, *o.c.* 175. See further Vol. III, 3, 5.

[13] Williamson (with M. H. Crawford), *o.c.* 179, 189 restores … *intra idem t*[*empus*… in l. 28. The alternative *t*[*emplum* … looks more attractive as the reference is to *statu*]*as* | *imaginesve imperatoris Caes*[*aris*…, which will regularly have been placed in a temple, more usually in the *pronaos*. See Vol. II, 1, 540–50.

[14] Vol. III, 2, 12–14 *ad* lines 21, 27.

[15] Deininger (1965) 144 with n. 1, cf. 109 with n. 3; Vol. III, 2, 12–13.

[16] Gayraud (1981) 386ff. with fig. 57.

As for the date of the enclosure, a great deal turns on the name of the emperor to be restored in lines 13, 27 of the Lex Narbonensis; detailed arguments in favour of a reference to Vespasian have already been advanced.[19] A further point added by Gayraud is that the construction of monuments in this area presupposes the prior urbanization of the space between here and the city centre. Since the intervening zone seems to have been overlain with residences early in the first century A.D., the sanctuary and amphitheatre must be subsequent, doubtless following the organisation of the provincial cult under Vespasian. A Flavian date for the sanctuary would in that case be directly in line with the monumental construction on the middle terrace of the provincial centre at Tarraco.

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[17] … *ther*[*mas incendio*] | *consumptas cum por*[*ticibus et* … ] | *et basilicis et omni* [*apparatu impensa*] | *sua r*[*estituit* … (*CIL* 12, 4342).

[18] For full disussion see Vol. III, 2, 7–9.

[19] Vol. I, 2, 240–1; Vol. III, 1, 105–9.

## CHAPTER SIX

# CAMULODUNUM

As the former capital of Cunobelinus, *Rex Britannorum*, Camulodunum was a native centre ideally suited to serve as the administrative and religious hub of the province overrun by Claudius' legions in A.D. 43.[1] The nearby colony which Ostorius Scapula founded six years later is now known to have overlain the site of a Claudian legionary fortress (presently below the western part of the town), where it quickly developed into a prosperous urban community named variously *Camulodunum*, *Colonia Victricensis* or *Colonia*.[2] The centre of attention for present purposes, however, is the eastern third of the city, where there are archaeological traces of a temple within what can only have been the provincial enclave of Britannia (Vol. III, 1, Pl. 12). The limited details so far ascertainable are the legacy of minimal, problem-ridden sources, which only the further progress of modern archaeology can hope to fill out. Of the two literary texts at our disposal the notorious reference in Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* (8, 3) confirms only that a temple at Camulodunum was associated in some way with the emperor Claudius. That this edifice was in fact constructed to Divus Claudius *post mortem* looks to be the implication of Tacitus' obscure reference to a temple "constituted to Divus Claudius" (*Ann.* 14, 31).[3] Though archaeology offers no support in this connection, there seems a distinct probability, then, that the temple will have still been in process of construction when defenders of the colony made it their last refuge against the forces of Boudicca in A.D. 60 (Tac., *Ann.* 14, 32, 2–3). If so, it can hardly have been completed before the Flavian period.[4] Further than that the literary evidence scarcely allows reasonable inference. The *curia* and theatre to which both Tacitus (*Ann.* 14, 32) and Dio (62, 1, 2) refer in relating portents of disaster will surely have belonged to the *colonia* at this early

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[1] For the general background see the introduction by I. A. Richmond to Hull (1958) xxvff; *PECS* 190–1 (Hull).

[2] Crummy (1977) with figs. 1, 3, 12, 21–2.

[3] Vol. I, 2, 195–218; Vol. III, 1, 76, 78–9, 82–3; Fishwick, Temple of Divus Claudius (1995) 18–20.

[4] Drury (1984) 24–5.

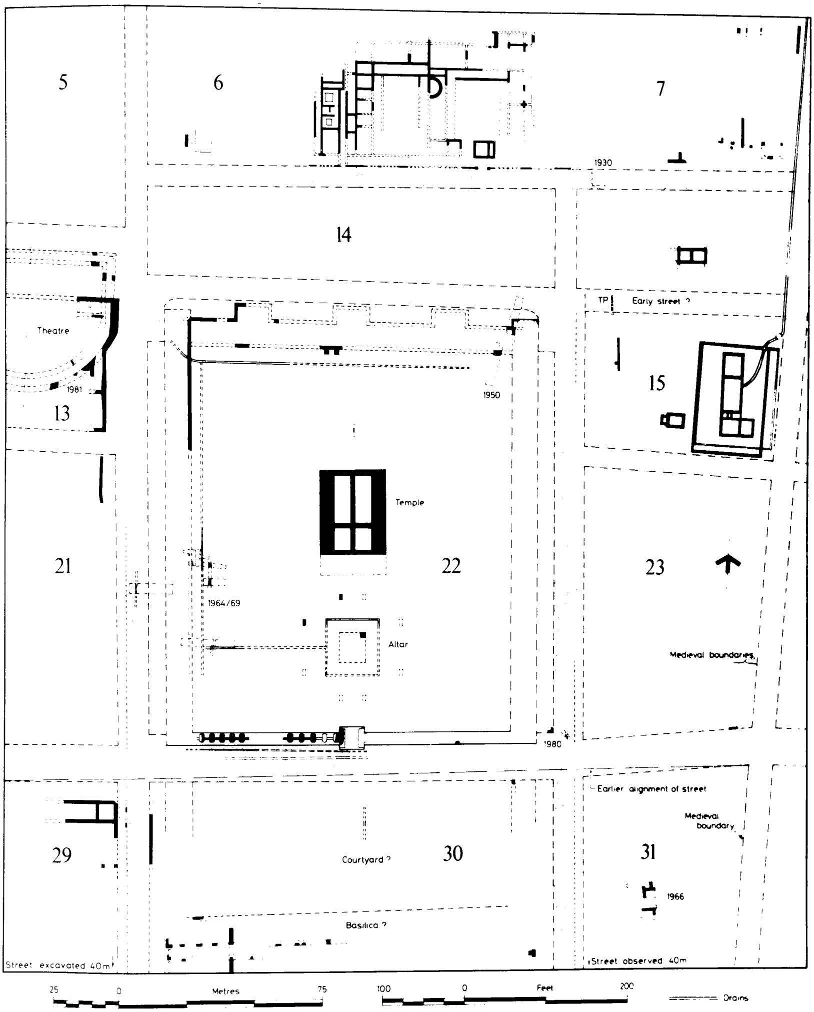
5
6
7
1930
14
TP
Early street ?
Theatre
1981
13
15
1950
Temple
21
22
23
1964/69
Altar
Medieval boundaries
1980
Earlier alignment of street
Medieval boundary
29
Courtyard ?
30
31
1966
Basilica ?
Street excavated 40m
Street observed 40m
25
0
Metres
75
100
0
Feet
200
Drains

Plate 122. Plan of temple precinct (Insula 22) and adjoining areas at Colchester *ca.* A.D. 62–313.

date, though the location of the theatre beside the provincial sanctuary points eloquently to its later role in provincial ceremonies (below, p. 147). With no numismatic evidence available—unlike Lugdunum, Camulodunum was not the home of an imperial mint—and with not a single inscription on hand, a surprising void that calls for comment (below, p. 146), discussion turns inevitably on the picture that can be reconstructed from the archaeological evidence. Meagre and problematic as this is, the tangible remains nevertheless suggest the outlines of an enclosure that bears striking similarities to what we have observed of its counterparts in Spain and Gaul.

### i. *The Site*

The traces in question occur in Insulae 22 and 30, on the eastern fringe of the colony (Pl. 122). The comparison usually drawn in this respect with the federal centre at Lugdunum is inapposite to the extent that the sanctuary of the Three Gauls lay upstream, well away from the city; a better analogy is with the provincial centres at Tarraco or Narbo Martius, which were similarly located towards the periphery of the settlement. Quite clearly, the temple within the enclosure had no association with the city centre, which must have occupied the heart of the colony as at Gloucester, Lincoln or Exeter, all likewise legionary fortresses in origin. It follows that the structure in Insula 22 cannot be colonial, as this would rather have been located on the forum of the town, which with its *basilica* is nowadays placed in Insula 18—firmly in the western sector, where was concentrated the wealth and urbanization of Camulodunum.[5] As a result, the position of the temple on the fringe of the colony at once excludes any possibility it could be municipal and rather confirms its provincial character.[6]

By A.D. 60 a large open area seems to have existed in the eastern part of the colony, consisting of an extensive *temenos* (*ca.* 180 by 120m) to the north (Insula 22) separated by the *decumanus maximus* from a much smaller forum to the south (Insula 30).[7] The fact that the temple occupied a central position in an area defined by the defences of an apparent annexe to the fortress suggests that this sector was reserved *ab initio* for the imperial cult when veterans converted the settlement into a colony in A.D. 48. The structures in the temple precinct were located by excavations in the 1920's and 1930's, published in part by Hull in 1958, to which can now be added the results of excavations in 1964, 1969 and 1977.[8] But the possibility that the *temenos* of the temple might be divided from the lower forum by the main east-west street was first brought into focus by Hull, who pointed to the parallel arrangements at Augst, St. Bernard and Paris.[9] All of these, like the Camulodunum enclave, have an upper court comprising a temple surrounded by a wide portico in Π, with the minor difference that at St. Bernard the stylobate continues along the fourth side of the temple court also; at all three sites the lower court is much larger and similarly enclosed by a portico of narrower dimensions. The validity of this comparison is confirmed by present understanding of the Colchester complex.[10] Below the *decumanus maximus*, the existence of which is now proven, the structures in Insula 30 suggest a courtyard with ranges corresponding to those of the temple precinct, so there can no longer be any doubt that the *temenos* is the northern section of a divided temple-*forum* complex. Curiously, the proportions of the sectors at Camulodunum are the inverse of those at Augst, St. Bernard and Paris, but taken together the temple precinct and lower forum measure 177 by 107m—a considerably larger plan than at the comparable French sites.

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[5] Hull (1958) xxvii; Drury, *o.c.* 28.

[6] The existence of municipal temples at Narbo Martius, Mérida and in all probability Tarraco nevertheless raises the possibility of an eventual municipal temple at Camolodunum. No trace of this has so far surfaced.

[7] Crummy (1977) 85–7; Drury (1984) 21–5 with fig. 11, noting that the location of the site might, strictly speaking, be considered outside of the town; cf. Hull in *PECS* 191. For a general comparison of the centre at Camulodunum with similar centres elsewhere in the west see Fishwick, Camulodunum (1997). See, however, *AE* (1997) 973, commenting that the archaeological data are not placed in their appropriate historiographical context. But no historiographical sources bear on the centre beyond the two passages in Seneca and Tacitus, both of which are re-visited in the opening paragraph (31) following extensive analysis in previous papers.

## ii. *The Temple Precinct*

Rebuilding and completion of the temple along with construction of the *temenos* must have been a first priority when the site was restored after the rebellion. Fortunately the overall development emerges with reasonable clarity.[11] At the south end of the precinct fragments of timber structures that occur outside the court pre-date a masonry screen (below) and look to be post-Boudiccan, given that the buildings were demolished, not burned, and follow the original alignment of the *decumanus maximus*. Again, at the north-east corner the street between Insulae 14 and 22 is earlier than the masonry defining the precinct. So while the temple itself will have been under construction in the period after Claudius' death, the enclosing *temenos* was on the current view first defined *ca.* A.D. 62–80 by metalled streets, timber buildings *et al.*, and only at a later stage, following construction in Insula 30, were these replaced by buildings on the north, east and west sides and by the monumental screen to the south (*ca.* 80–100 A.D.). Enclosure of the precinct looks in any event to have been a single operation probably under the Flavians, a date supported by late first-century pottery relating to the building on the west side.

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[8] Drury, *o.c.* 7–21 with refs., noting the pioneer work of Wheeler–Laver (1919).

[9] Hull (1958) 189–91 with fig. 96.

[10] Drury, *o.c.* 28–9.

[11] Hull, *o.c.* xxvii; Drury, *o.c.* 25ff.

An outline of the general lay-out also begins to come into focus. The temple and the altar before it are placed axially within the *temenos*, not to one side as Hull thought,[12] and the enclosing court was paved with bricks laid in herring-bone pattern. Four and a half *actus* square by P. Crummy's reckoning,[13] the precinct contained buildings now thought to have had a symmetrical north elevation, while the south side facing the *decumanus maximus* was bounded by a massive screen with a gate; inside the wall, on either side of the gate, was a monumental arcade.[14] The three other sides of the *temenos* look to have been bounded by smaller open porticos with some enclosed rooms and a solid spine wall—the north range even preserves a flooring of Purbeck marble and interior walls that are plastered and painted. Rain water ran off through vaulted sewers that emptied under the north-west corner of the *temenos* buildings. Lastly, there is a solitary inscription of which only the lower half of an A survives; the original location is unknown but Drury attributes it to the screen or one of the east or west ranges rather than to the temple.[15]

Several features of the precinct call for detailed comment. Beneath the keep of the Norman castle is preserved a structure belonging to a previous building, unquestionably the platform of a classical temple (Vol. I, 2, Pl. XL).[16] The fact that this was located in an imposing precinct, the boundaries of which were defined by masonry buildings from the late first century, confirms beyond reasonable doubt that here is the edifice to which Tacitus and Seneca refer. While there is nothing in the archaeological evidence to suggest a tentative date, it now seems clear that the *podium* conforms to the original line of the *decumanus maximus* between Insulae 21 and 23—before this was adapted, probably *ca.*

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[12] *Id.* (1958) 183 with n. 4, cf. xxvii; Drury, *o.c.* 27.

[13] *Id.* (1980) 248.

[14] Hull (1958) 171; Drury, *o.c.* 26, cf. 15, citing Hebditch (1971).

[15] *O.c.* 37–9 with fig. 14, cf. 27.

[16] Hull (1958) xxvi, 162–8; Drury, *o.c.* 24–5.

80–100 A.D. (below, p. 145) to the enclosing screen wall. There seems every likelihood, therefore, that the *podium* antedates this and other structures in the temple court. The conclusion is supported by the circumstance that, aside from the temple itself, the entire area within the supposed limits of the fortress annexe, north of the *decumanus maximus*, is free from demolition debris; even the vicinity of the temple lacks traces of burning. Richmond argued that this must be explained by ritual cleansing after the site had been desecrated; alternatively Drury has suggested that combustible elements may simply not have produced an appreciable amount of debris.[17] Both factors may be involved if, as argued, the temple was only partly built at the time it was sacked in A.D. 60.

The temple platform itself is very large (24 × 31.5m),[18] though smaller than that of the enormous temple—apparently a Capitolium—recently identified in the grounds of the convent of the Verbe Incarné at Lugdunum (32 by 41m),[19] and its foundations reach a depth of 3.9m. Beneath the areas of the *podium* which were not load-bearing so had no need of solid stone, four so-called vaults—two long ones beneath the *cella* and two short beneath the *pronaos*—were rammed with sand probably drawn from foundation trenches (Vol. I, 2, Pl. XXXIX). P. Crummy, following Hull, notes that "vaults" of this kind are simply a by-product of the method of construction, which must have saved considerably on stone and labour. Stone for building has always been in short supply in Essex and the septaria used here may have been quarried in the Harwich area on the coast, then transported more than 15 miles—an item to be factored into any estimate of the time needed for building. Though there is no accurate survey of the *podium* as yet, the "vaults" reveal much of the original superstructure. In particular, their relation to the solid parts of the *podium*, in conjunction with its very size, point clearly to a temple with eight columns (Pl. 123). Other features are more problematic but Crummy infers that a Eustyle arrangement is the most probable (Vitruv., *De arch.* 3, 3: 6, 10), with column diameters of 0.94m across the front of the temple. The proportions of the *cella*, though not of the *pronaos*, do in fact comply exactly with the canons of Vitruvius

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[17] Richmond in Hull, *o.c.* xxvi; Drury, *o.c.* 25.

[18] On the temple itself see Hull (1958) 162–8 with fig. 82; Crummy (1980) 243–8; Drury, *o.c.* 27–8, 34–5. For earlier treatment see Lewis (1966) 61–2.

[19] Lasfargues–Le Glay (1980). For the view that the structure was rather a Capitolium see now Di Vita-Évrard (2001) forthcoming.

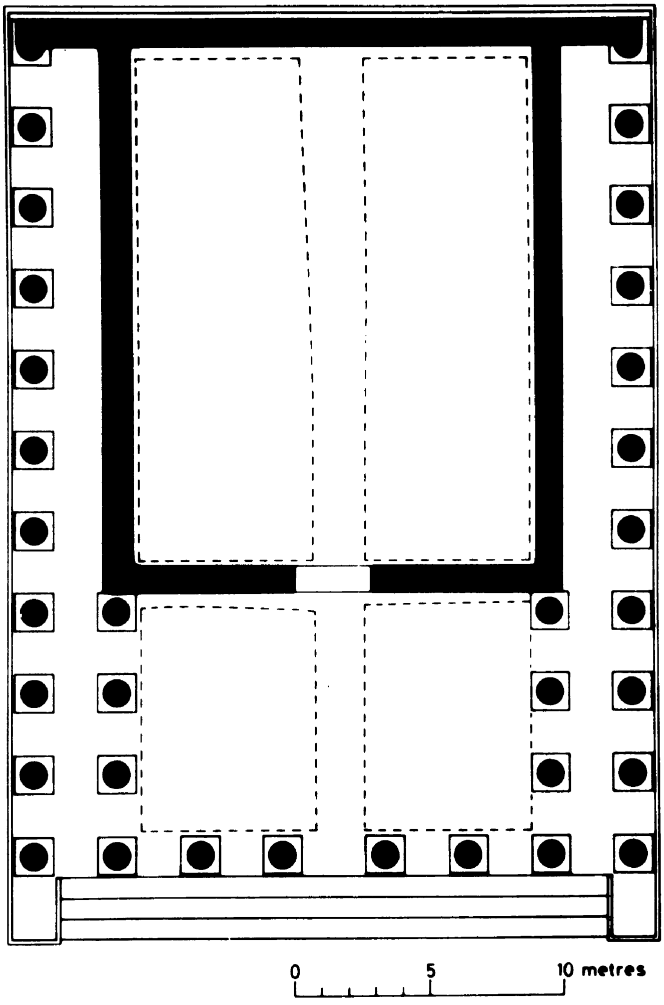

Plate 123. Reconstruction of superstructure of "Temple of Claudius". Vaults are indicated by dashed lines.

in this respect (*o.c.* 4, 4). Conjecture along these lines is also consistent with the diameters of *ca.* 1m that have been assigned to columns of segmental tile, fragments of which have been found sheathed with fluted stucco. Drury observes that, despite their inferior material, the scale of these columns argues for their attribution to the temple. Equally, convex fluting was in vogue in the late Neronian and Flavian period, the years in which the temple looks to have been reconstructed and completed. However, the temple was not peripteral on all sides; unlike the arrangement at Schönbuhl,[20] for example, space does not allow for a portico along the back, which was probably closed by a rear wall as at the temple of Mars Ultor in Rome. As for the steps at the front of the temple, the identification of their base now requires a larger flight than earlier supposed in order to accommodate the level of the court to the *podium*. A further refinement to be added to the picture is the presence of black and white tesselated paving, a trace of which survives. On the other hand exotic marble, once thought a disinctive decoration of the first-century temple, looks to be absent from early levels and to have been used sparingly before the early fourth century.

All analogy suggests that, while Claudius was still alive, cult would have been paid to Roma and Augustus and have centred on an altar.[21] The familiar model set at Lugdunum may have been followed in this respect at Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensis (Cologne), a colony like Camolodunum therefore, while L. Domitius Ahenobarbus likewise planted an altar on the Elbe *ca.* 2 B.C., possibly intended as the focal point of a regional cult.[22] At Camulodunum vestiges of a long altar base and an associated drain and sewer were found in 1931–33 and 1969 respectively before the main flight of steps ascending to the temple (Pl. 124).[23] It is true that before every temple stood an altar at which rites were performed; that at Schonbühl, for example, stands 6m from the temple facade,[24] while the altar before the temple of Mars Ultor at Rome is built into the temple staircase. But at Camulodunum, where the approximate size of the altar base can be reconstructed at *ca.* 10m (assuming symmetry along both axes), the altar is approximately two-fifths the width of the temple itself and situated *ca.* 28m from its presumed face. Furthermore, between the temple and the altar, 23m from the temple and 4.65m from the base, a vaulted drain is thought by Drury to have underlain gutters "defining the edge of a specially paved area around the altar", which is placed symmetrically within the drain. An altar of this size, positioned so far from the front of the temple,

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[20] Hull (1958) 191–2 with fig. 97.

[21] Vol. I, 2, 199–201; Fishwick, Temple of Divus Claudius (1995) 20ff.; Levick (1990) 186, cf. 145.

[22] Vol. III, 1, 20–1, 23.

[23] Hull, *o.c.* xxviii, 175–6; Drury, *o.c.* 15, 27. For the corner of the presumed altar base (141) see Pl. 124.

[24] Fishwick, Camulodunum (1997) 43.

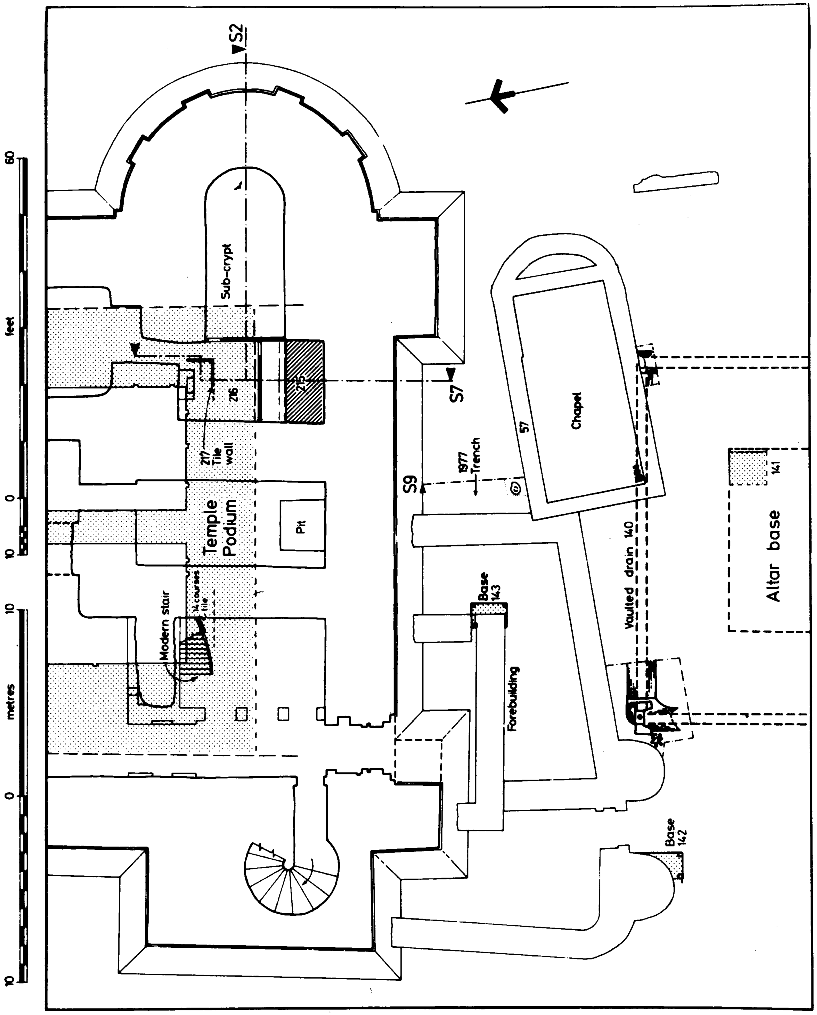
S2
S7
S9
Sub-crypt
215
216
217 Tile wall
Temple Podium
Pit
Modern stair
14 courses tile
1977 Trench
Chapel
57
Vaulted drain 140
Altar base
141
Base 143
Base 142
Forebuilding
feet
60
0
10
metres
10
0
10

Plate 124. Plan of altar base and associated Roman features south of Colchester Castle keep.

could well have been the original centre of the cult and, if the temple was constructed subsequently as at Lugdunum, the scheme would anticipate that reflected in the priestly titles at Lugdunum, which begin to read *ad aram … apud templum*, following construction of the temple of the Three Gauls, probably under Hadrian.

There is a further similarity. Hull reports the discovery and characteristics of a pedestal base situated *ca.* 17m west of the presumed centre line of the temple and altar foundation (142).[25] On the opposite side is what he took to be a similar base in a corresponding position: the remains of the "concrete" floor to which he refers have proved to be post-Roman but in Drury's opinion these could overlie a Roman structure at a lower level. The general arrangement recalls that at Lugdunum, then, where the altar was flanked by Victories, especially in light of Tacitus' reference to a *simulacrum Victoriae* that fell and turned its back as if retreating from the enemy at the time Boudiccan forces stormed Camulodunum: *inter quae nulla palam causa delapsum Camuloduni simulacrum Victoriae ac retro conversum quasi cederet hostibus* (*Ann.* 14, 32).[26] A potential difficulty accrues, however, in that the base flanking the altar (142) is oblong is shape, measuring 4ft. 9 inches by at least 9ft. on Hull's figures (1.4 by 2.7m). He remarks that this would have been appropriate for an equestrian statue, yet in comparing the two bases with the scheme at Lugdunum, suggests incongruously that the Victory mentioned by Tacitus might have fallen from its pedestal "perhaps on this very spot in A.D. 61".[27] Whether the oblong shape presents a serious objection to its having supported the pedestal of a statue of Victory is open to debate. In any event the foundation of the forebuilding of the castle has in the meantime produced part of another, smaller base (143), its construction similar to that of the earlier base (142), but located somewhat to the rear and aligned on the inferred west edge of the altar foundation. This rear base, which again has a possible twin, is more nearly square and its position would have more closely corresponded to that of the Victories at Lugdunum as indicated on coins, except that at Camulodunum the bases are set behind than rather beside the altar. We have seen that at Lugdunum the placement of the Victories remains uncertain (above, p. 109).

The question that arises, therefore, is whether these rear bases might rather have supported the pedestals of the Victory statues. Whatever the facts of the matter may have been,[28] the archaeological evidence does seem to combine with the literary in attesting an altar attended by Victories on the Lugdunum model, in which case the architectonic correspondence surely points to a similar cult *ad aram*. Attention has earlier been called in this connection to the variant text of Tacitus, *Ann*. 14, 31: *quasi ara aeternae dominationis*. The standard reading *quasi arx* … would hardly be appropriate, except by imaginative prolepsis, to a temple still under construction, whereas an "altar of eternal domination" would fit very well if the altar was in fact accompanied by statues of Victory.[29] Quite clearly, then, the altar before the Camulodunum temple is a pivotal feature of the *temenos* and the strongest evidence we so far possess that may point to an original provincial cult of Roma and Augustus during the lifetime of Claudius.

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[25] Hull, *o.c.* 176–7 cf. xxviii; Drury. *o.c. ibid.* For the pedestals numbered 142 and 143 see Pl. 124.

[26] For the point that *simulacrum* would be the appropriate term for a statue of Victory in a religious context and that Tacitus' language by no means rules out the presence of two such statues as at Lugdunum see Fishwick, Temple of Divus Claudius (1995) 23–5.

[27] Followed by Lewis (1966) 62 with fig. 59. For equestrian statues at the Lugdunum sanctuary see Vol. I, 2, 318 with n. 10 *ad CIL* 13, 1680 = *ILS* 1390.

[28] With all the uncertainties of the archaeological evidence, the possibility might also be considered that the original Victories were later replaced by equestrian statues.

Lastly, at the south side of the temple court are preserved the foundations of what looks to have been a monumental entrance gate which will have provided access to pedestrians entering from the *decumanus maximus*, the main street east to west.[30] The arch forming the entrance must have been about 5m wide if it was aligned on the centre of the altar and temple to the north. The existence of a comparable monumental entrance to the precinct at Narbo Martius has already been noted (above, p. 131). The gate stood on a concrete raft 1.5m thick and 8.4m wide and was the centrepiece of a massive screen wall which defined the whole of the south side of the temple court; only the western part has so far been excavated, though its continuation to the east is confirmed. On the inside a portico evidently ran along the wall, where cased piers were connected by arches and associated with free-standing, partly engaged columns, one of which survives, the whole structure resting upon a masonry platform 15ft. (4.5m) wide. The screen itself has been treated in detail by Richmond, who notes that the walling was faced with slabs of marble that included no less than eight foreign varieties, as well as British Purbeck and Greek porphyry; fragments of these were recovered from an open drain that bordered the platform on the street side. Evidently the front projected southwards across the *decumanus maximus*, the line of which is striking for it dog-legged shape where it was diverted to fit the orientation of the new south wall when the complex was rebuilt *ca*. A.D. 80–100.

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[29] Vol, I, 2, 200, n. 32; Fishwick, Temple of Divus Claudius (1995) *ibid*.

[30] Hull (1958) xxviii, 171, 188–9; Hebditch (1971) 115–30; Drury (1984) 26.

### iii. *The Lower Forum*

On the far side of the intersecting *decumanus maximus* the smaller sector of the provincial enclave (Insula 30) is taken up by a court apparently flanked by buildings to east and west.[31] The upper area was occupied by a metalled yard in which cobbles are recorded and there is a vaulted drain resembling similar conduits in the *temenos* (Insula 22). To the south a massive masonry building is in line with the provincial temple in the upper court. Drury assigns its date, like that of adjacent structures, to the twenty years or so following the revolt (A.D. 62–80), which would make it contemporary with the rebuilding and completion of the temple, also with the Flavian plaza on the middle terrace of the enclosure at Tarraco. The clearest traces are limited to three parallel walls and two cross-walls *ca.* 2m thick to the west of the insula but there seems reason to believe that here may have stood the *basilica* at which the provincial council held its meetings. The existence of a British counterpart to the *concilium* known in other provinces is vividly attested by a recent inscription from Rome: … *devotissimae votorum* … | *provinciae Britanṇ* … .[32] Presumably a single *concilium* acted for both provinces of divided Britain as there seems to be no evidence for a *concilium* of each. The remains of the supposed *basilica* are too limited to permit any conclusion beyond the obvious fact of its size but Drury observes that the building is much larger than any *basilica* which could have stood on the municipal forum in Insula 18.

In sharp contrast to the archaeological data the total lack of inscriptions referring to provincial priests is puzzling, particularly when in other provinces the provincial centre provides the bulk of our information in this regard, notably at Lugdunum and Tarraco.[33] At Emerita, it will be recalled, the enclave beyond the "Arco di Traiano" has produced no trace of a provincial *flamen*, though a fair number of records have appeared elsewhere in the city and at various locations in the province from as early as the Julio-Claudian period. Corduba in contrast has produced relatively numerous records of provincial priests though these appear on both of the early forums of the city. Is sheer chance to blame, then, at Camulodunum, or was the honour of a statue with inscribed pedestal withheld from British provincial priests, conceivably as a politically sensitive privilege in the wake of the rebellion? The temple itself was certainly associated with *sacerdotes* if Tacitus uses the title in an exact sense: … *delectique sacerdotes specie religionis omnis fortunas effundebant* (*Ann.* 14, 31); the terminology would in that case be in keeping with an original cult of Roma amd Augustus at an altar, precisely as at Lugdunum and Ara Ubiorum. As for other statues, attention has already been drawn to the two(?) oblong pedestal bases flanking the altar foundation in front of the temple, also a further base, again probably one of two, incoporated into the forebuilding to the rear. The location of all these leads Drury to hypothetize an eventual array of eight statues placed behind, beside and in front of the altar.[34] That they will have included a pair of Victory statues is likely enough—we have seen that the squarer bases to the rear, between the altar and the temple face, might best fit the bill (above, p. 144). Elsewhere one could suppose equestrian statues as attested at Lugdunum, though there is no hint of any comparable symmetrical arrangement.

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[31] Drury, *o.c.* 25, 29.

[32] Beard, Dedication (1980) with n. 1, citing the original publication of the inscription by Solin (1975) no. 3, 6–8.

[33] Fishwick, Temple of Divus Claudius (1995) 22; Vol. III, 2, 292–4.

Surprisingly, in view of the evidence at other centres, no certain trace of an amphitheatre has been found at Camulodunum, though Richmond refers to a an early-seventeenth century record of a curving series of houses in Insula 3, which would be within easy reach of the provincial enclave.[35] We have seen that at Lugdunum and Tarraco an amphitheatre is respectively contiguous to or within walking distance of the provincial centre. On the other hand, the curved foundations in Insula 13 look to be vestiges of the theatre, which evidently underwent substantial structural alterations *ca.* A.D. 150–220.[36] Its location immediately beside the temple precinct speaks for a substantial role of the theatre in the rites and ceremonies of the cult.[37] The possible placement of both buildings, while beset with uncertainties, recalls to some extent that of the well-known theatre and amphitheatre at Mérida, though these are situated further away from the putative enclosure.

What little is known of the later development of the precinct can be briefly summarized.[38] The buildings of the temple precinct (Insula

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[34] Drury, *o.c.* 15, 27, with figs. 2, 11 (= Pls. 124, 122).

[35] *Id.* in Hull (1958) xxviii with n. 4.

[36] Drury, *o.c.* 30 with n. 112, citing Crummy (1982). Golvin (1988) 91, no. 50, erroneously takes these remains to belong to the amphitheatre.

[37] Vol. II, 1, 582–4.

[38] Drury, *o.c.* 29ff., noting also evidence of burning in Insula 30. For the point that there is nothing to suggest the provincial centre moved to Londinium see Fishwick,

22) and those of the forum (Insula 30) were evidently damaged by fire about the end of the second century A.D., perhaps as a result of some political event that was likewise responsible for serious fires at other centres in the region about this time. Whether the temple itself was damaged is uncertain. Reconstruction soon afterwards is indicated primarily by the use of much second-hand material in panel walls that were now built in the previously open arches of the architectural screen fronting the *decumanus maximus*, but elsewhere in the *temenos* too there are signs of reconstruction and modification. At all events there can be no question that a second disaster overtook the masonry buildings which had been erected at the sanctuary probably in the last decades of the first century A.D. At some point in the later Roman period the edifice on the *podium* underwent drastic alteration. Tile fragments suggest that the temple facade with its columns was demolished and reconstructed and there is evidence of rebuilding in the temple precint immediately to the south, though the *temenos* continued to be maintained. The survival of a temple of the Imperial cult at a colony would be in any event improbable in the aftermath of the Edict of Milan in 313, and the ground plan suggests that the structure was now converted into a basilica that served as a reception- or audience-hall. The resemblance of the new basilical form to a Christian church is probably superficial but the occurence of a Chi-Rho on the rim of a storage jar could indicate some connection with new state religion. The final stage saw the adaptation of some of the buildings surrounding the court for domestic use, a reflexion perhaps of the security the complex offered in the difficult times of the early fifth century.

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Camulodunum (1997) 49, nn. 71–2.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

# GORSIUM

Until only five years ago prolonged discussion reaching back into the nineteenth century seemed to have finally agreed that the centre of the provincial cult of Pannonia Inferior was located at Gorsium, not Aquincum.[1] Lower Pannonia consequently resembled Pannonia Superior, where the seat of the provincial council looks to have been at Savaria rather than Carnuntum, the administrative centre and residence of the provincial governor.[2] As developed by J. Fitz in particular, the conclusion was based primarily on archaeological evidence, an important cultic complex uncovered on a slight rise at Tác, where Fitz identified the Roman settlement with Gorsium.[3] Construction in the enclave appeared to have begun in the second century, according to Fitz's interpretation already in the reign of Trajan,[4] but in the aftermath of its destruction by the Sarmatians, who broke into Pannonia in A.D. 178, the centre was re-built on a much grander scale.[5] The sanctuary was finally destroyed in A.D. 260 when the Roxolani overran all Pannonia.

## i. *A Provincial Centre?*

On the standard view of the site three symmetrically placed stairways gave access from the *decumanus maximus* to an *area sacra* containing a complex of ceremonial buildings that Fitz took to be largely associated

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[1] For an overview of the debate see Alföldy (1997) 229–30. I am much indebted for advice, corrections and photocopies of inaccessible material to G. Alföldy, M. Sasel-Kos, J. Edmondson and the two anonymous referees who contributed helpful suggestions and key bibliographical references to an orginal version of this chapter published in *Phoenix* 54 (2000) 309–31.

[2] Vol. I, 2, 302–7. On the *concilium* composed of representatives sent by the diferent communities of a province see Deininger (1965) 143–4; Vol. III, 2, 301.

[3] Vol. I, 2, 303, n. 18 with refs. For a full roster of Fitz's papers *ad hoc* see Alföldy (1997) 225, n. 1; Fitz (1998) 28.

[4] *Contra* E. Tóth (1989) 49–50, arguing that nothing archaeological confirms the complex was already in existence under Trajan. But see now Fitz's counter argument based on stratigraphic soundings: Alföldy (1997) 240; Nachtrag 1.

[5] Fitz (1971) 148, 150–1; *id.*, Gorsium (1972) 9–24; *PECS* 361–2 (Fitz); Fedak (1988) 175.

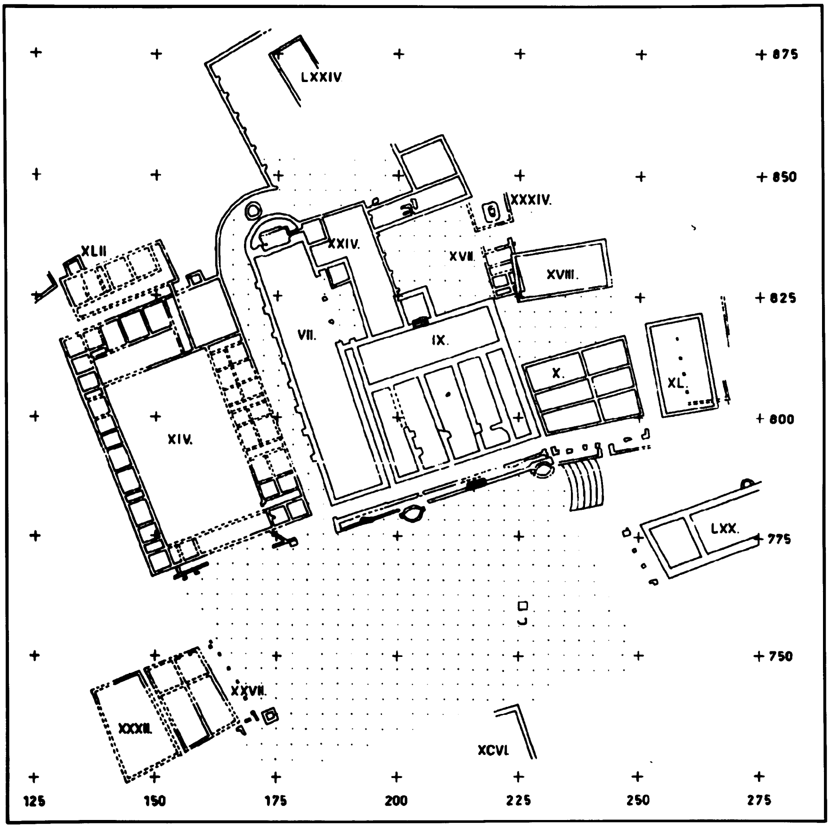
LXXIV
XXXIV.
XIV.
XVII.
XVIII.
XLII
VII.
IX.
X.
XL.
XIV.
LXX.
XXVII.
XXXII.
XCVI.
875
850
825
800
775
750
125
150
175
200
225
250
275

Fig. 1: Plan of the *area sacra* of Gorsium showing the tetrastyle temple. Reproduced from Fitz (1998) 27.

with the imperial cult (Vol. I, 2, Pl. LXI).[6] Along with other holy places these were thought to include the base of an altar on an elevated *podium*, which Fitz originally identified as the *ara Aug(usti) n(ostri) P(annoniae) infer(ioris)* mentioned in the titulature of a provincial priest at Aquincum (*CIL* 3, 10496 = *ILS* 7124). To the rear (Vol. I, 2, Pl. LXII), supposedly rose the temple mentioned in a controversial building inscription (*CIL* 3, 3342: below, p. 156), while before the altar lay to the west a large, narrow hall (Fig. 1: VII), within which were found a sacrificial pit, apparently a relic of the rite of dedication; in the apse at the north-west end an altar still bore traces of sacrificial grain. The building could have served as the *curia* of the provincial council since immediately east a flight of stairs approached a large hall with five aisles, its north side opening onto a closed court perhaps open to the sky (Fig. 1: IX); conceivably this structure was designed for the delegates who participated in cult ceremonies. On the east side of the precinct stood a large square house consisting of several premises decorated with wall paintings and including a room beneath the floor of which a hoard of 3134 coins had come to light in 1968[7]—to all appearances a treasury and administrative headquarters, therefore (Fig. 1: X). Further east again the cellar of a building only partially uncovered preserved remains of table ware that pointed to its use as a dining hall no doubt associated with cultic rites (Fig. 1: XL), while to the north a hall containing a pedestal (Fig. 1: XVIII) might be the temple of Marcus Aurelius known from an inscription (*CIL* 3, 3345: below, p. 158).

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[6] For a summary of the original archaeological picture see Fitz (1985) 258–9; E. Tóth (1989) 48–9; Fitz–Fedak (1993) 265–7; Alföldy (1997) 230–1. The *area sacra* is bounded to the west by a lane that divides it from the civic forum with its surrounding buildings including a modest Capitolium: Fitz–Fedak, *o.c.* 265; see Fig. 1: XIV). On the east, as interpreted by Fitz (1998) 26, it swings south across the *decumanus maximus* to face westwards a large open area now thought to be the newly designed forum. For a large scale plan of Gorsium-Herculia see Fitz–Fedak (1993) 263, fig. 2; Fedak (1993) 284, fig. 1.

Exploration over the last ten years or so has now modified this preliminary picture at least in regard to the supposed provincial altar and temple. On the latest view these structures must have served some other purpose since a *nymphaeum* south of the treasury and banqueting hall is now known to have led up to a large, tetrastyle temple set on a raised *podium* facing west (Fig. 1: LXX).[8] Dated to the period between *ca.* A.D. 106 and 160–80, the period of the Marcomannic wars, the building looks to have been constructed in the early part of the second century.[9]

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[7] Fitz (1978) 2, 685–6 with Abb. 84.

[8] First published by Fedak (1995) 147–51, 155–6. See further *id.* (1997) 111–22, 125; Fitz (1998) 26.

[9] A coin of Trajan found on the floor level must have been dropped under the reign of this emperor or later. A *terminus post* is likewise provided by a stamped brick of the *legio X Gemina* recovered from "the undisturbed pre-Hadrianic fill" in front of the smaller northern pedestal of the western facade; the fragment accords with the existing view of Fitz-Bánki (1982) 210, no. 10, that a *vexillatio* of the legion demolished the military camp at Gorsium *ca.* A.D. 106 and began construction of a new settlement in connection with Trajan's contemporary division of Pannonia into two administrative zones. At the opposite end of the scale the circumstance that pottery fragments from the fill above the floor level date from the later second century points to destruction during the Marcomannic wars. For detailed discussion see Fedak (1995) 151 with n. 29, 155; (1997) 125, cf. 111–13, 123; Fitz–Fedak (1993) 264; Fitz (1998) 26. On the assumption that construction can be securely dated to the early decades of the second century,

Its full characteristics have yet to be revealed but excavations currently in progress have already disclosed that the edifice was approached by a flight of steps from the west and that behind the facade a doorway opened from the *pronaos* into the *cella*, within which was found the partially preserved base of a cult statue. The fronting columns or combined columns and piers were of expensive imported granite,[10] fragments of which appear to be preserved at various sites in Székesfehérvár.[11] In addition Fitz reports that six columns of a colonnade have been brought to light, possibly part of the renovations undertaken in A.D. 202 (below, p. 170).[12] Since this is clearly the most elaborate building of the sacred area, it has been proposed by J. Fedak and his colleagues, notably supported by Fitz, that this newly exposed structure should rather be identified with the provincial temple of Pannonia Inferior.[13] If this revised interpretation is correct, the *ara Augusti* attested by *CIL* 3, 10496 must have stood immediately before it as on the scheme at Lugdunum and elsewhere.

### ii. *The Epigraphic Record*

In support of his original interpretation of the site Fitz drew attention to a series of epigraphical documents that had come to light in the course of his exploration of Tác. Particularly intriguing were a number of building bricks stamped TE.PR (*AE*, 1972, 433), which Fitz completed *te(mplum) pr(ovinciae)*,[14] but most importance attached to an altar stone that he encountered re-used as the base of a door post in the fourth-century *tabernae*. As Fitz subsequently reiterated, this was discovered not in the sacred enclave itself but close by, on the south side of the

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Fedak (1995) 151 with n. 29, cf. *id.* (1997) 123, 125, proposes that the temple along with two nearby *nymphaea* were designed by Hadrian during his term as governor, A.D. 106–8, and dedicated following completion, perhaps when Hadrian visited the province in either A.D. 118 or 124. The elevation of Gorsium to the rank of *municipium* may have coincided with the latter occasion.

[10] For the possible origin of the granite in the Troad see Fedak (1995) 151, n. 28, citing the opinion of D. P. S. Peacock, Univerity of Southhampton.

[11] Fedak (1995) 149–50 with nn. 25–6, noting that the two smaller inner columns may have been of white marble.

[12] *Id.* (1998) 26.

[13] Fedak (1995) 151, observing that "The excavations of the past three decades and more have not located this temple, although its existence was known to Hungarian scholars"; cf. Fitz (1998) 25–6.

[14] Vol. 1, 2, 303, n. 21; E. Tóth (1989) 46; Alföldy (1997) 232.

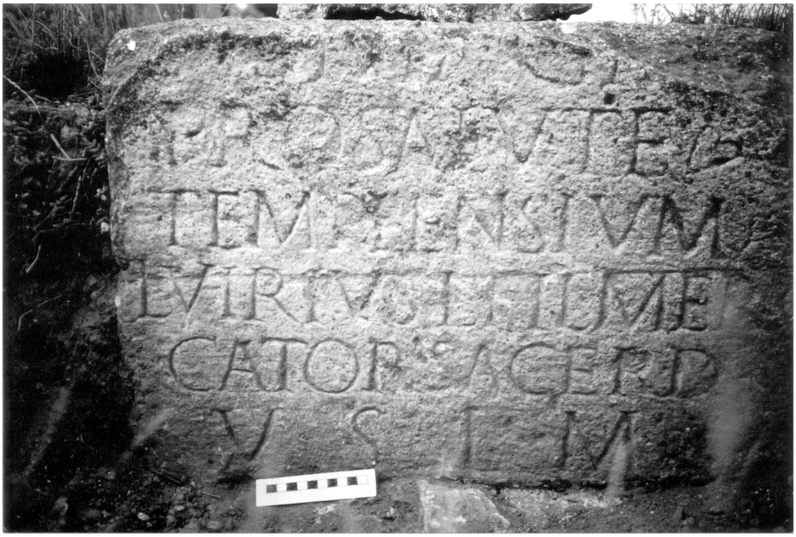

Plate 125. Dedication to Di Magni at Gorsium.

*decumanus maximus* of the late-Roman settlement, where it still stands today apparently *in situ*.[15] While it was impossible to make out the damaged first line, the rest could be read without difficulty:

> [ — ] | *pro salute* | *templensium* | *L(ucius) Virius L(ucii) fil(ius) Mer|cator sacerd(os)* | *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).* (*AE*, 1972, 432, Pl. 125).

Fitz took the *templenses* to be the personnel who served at the temple in the nearby enclosure[16] and assumed that the dedicator, L. Virius L. *fil.* Mercator, was a provincial priest—an interpretation later withdrawn since, as Fitz himself noted, the proper title of the provincial priest of Lower Pannonia was *sacerdos provinciae Pannoniae Inferioris* or variant, not just *sacerdos*.[17]

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[15] Alföldy (1997) 225–6, cf. 240; Nachtrag 4.

[16] The precise meaning of *templenses* is unclear. E. Tóth (1989) 47–8, follows Fitz in understanding the personnel who maintained the temple and lived in its proximity. In that case the community of *templenses* were in practice identical with the *sacerdotes* of the centre, who had other duties as well as the performance of rites. Similarly at the Altar of the Three Gauls the priest can have the title *sacerdos arensis*, though in the sanctuary by Lugdunum there is no trace of the collective term *arenses* as the federal priesthood was held annually by a single incumbent; cf. *CIL* 13, 939 (bis) with p. 229, 11042 (Périgueux); for *conventus*(?) *arensis* see *CIL* 13, 1671. Alternatively Alföldy (1997) 232 with n. 37, proposes the company of believers at the sanctuary on the model of the *temenitai* at Miletus. Presumably these would then be a changing group of visitors rather than permanent residents and *templensis* would be related to the original sense of *templum* as *temenos*. It might be added that this point also applies to *templenses* in the sense of priestly personnel, who may well include representatives from a variety of sanctuaries and shrines within the sacred area.

Of more immediate significance were several inscriptions among the relatively numerous stones found at Székesfehérvár and nearby Sárpentele.[18] On the basis of these Mommsen had originally located the provincial centre at Sárpentele, whereas A. Alfoldi preferred the claims of Aquincum some 70 km away in the belief that the stones had been moved from here en masse either to build a royal basilica at Székesfehérvár in the eleventh century or to renovate a mill at Sárpentele in the eighteenth. Fitz in contrast was able to show from later archaeological exploration that no Roman settlement had existed at either Sárpentele or Székesfehérvár, and so argued that all these epigraphical texts must have originated from Tác, a mere 10 km distant from Székesfehérvár. In a balanced assessment G. Alföldy now confirms that, while some of the inscriptions in the region originate certainly from Aquincum and many of the stones at Székesfehérvár have no demonstrable connection with Tác, the key epigraphical documents from Sárpentele do come from Gorsium—though none of them look to have any direct connection with the provincial cult.[19] In any event Fitz took the proximity of Tác to support his contention that the inscriptions relate to the supposed provincial centre at Gorsium. The view has recently been challenged by E. Toth, who further doubts the identification of the Roman settlement at Tác with Gorsium.[20]

The first of these texts can quickly be eliminated from discussion.[21] An altar found at Sárpentele, to which on Fitz's very probable argument it had been removed from a sanctuary at Tác, records a dedication to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus for the *salus* of the two Augusti, probably Septimius Severus and Caralla, the dedication having made by the priests of the whole province:

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[17] Fitz (1985) 259; E. Tóth (1989) 48 with n. 42; Alföldy (1997) 231, n. 33; 232, n. 38 with refs. In addition to C. Tit. Antonius Peculiaris, *sacerdos arae Aug. n. p. P. infer.*: *CIL* 3, 10496 (Vol. III, 2, 272–7), see further M. Ulp. [—], *sacerd(os)* [*pr(ovinciae) Pannoniae inf(erioris)*]: *CIL* 3, 10305; Aurel(ius) Audentius, *sacer(dotalis) provinci(ae)*: *CIL* 3, 3485; Ignotus, [*sacerdos*] *p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) in*[*f(erioris)*]: *RIU* 979. Cf. Vol. III, 2, 282–3.

[18] Vol. I, 2, 303, n. 19; Fitz (1985) 258; *id.* (1998) 25; E. Tóth (1989) 43–4; Alföldy (1997) 229–30 with nn. 28–30; 233–5, with nn. 44–9.

[19] *Id.* (1997) 234–5.

[20] E. Tóth (1989) 45. See further Alföldy (1997) 225, n. 2; 230, n. 32 with refs. As the problem is marginal to the present discussion, it will be convenient to follow Alföldy in continuing to use the name Gorsium in line with common usage.

[21] Vol. I, 2, 304; Alföldy (1997) 236 with nn. 53–4.

> *I(ovi) O(ptimo)* [*M(aximo)* ] | *Dolc(eno) pro* | *sal(ute) dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum)* | *Augg(ustorum) tot(ius) pr(ovinciae)* | *sacerdote*[*s*]. (*CIL* 3, 3343)

As these undesignated *sacerdotes* can hardly have served the imperial cult[22]—such a gathering of municipal imperial priests would be unprecedented—they must be rather be priests of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus, as A. Alföldi first suggested.[23] The fact that they had assembled from the whole province was clearly connected with a special occasion, very likely the visit that Septimius Severus and Caracalla look to have paid to Gorsium in A.D. 202.[24] What is at all events clear is that this text can have no bearing on the provincial cult but is directly associated with the worship of Dolichenus, here a by-form of Jupiter.[25] Alföldy notes that four large iron bells of various sizes that came to light at Tác in 1959, though not in the sacred enclosure, are characteristic of the cult.[26] To these can be added a smaller set of four completely preserved bronze bells, again of various sizes, that were found by the Canadian excavation team in 1995–96, also five single bells recovered at various locations of the work area in previous campaigns.[27]

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[22] Very occasionally the single provincial priest is recorded to have made a dedication locally to Magna Mater: *CIL* 13, 11042; Vol. III, 2, Pl. 28, cf. *AE*, 1973, 343. According to an inscription at Narbo Martius, he even performed a *taurobolium* on the orders of Magna Mater for the *salus* of Septimius Severus and Caracalla: *CIL* 12, 4323.

[23] Alföldi (1940).

[24] Fitz (1959) 241–2; cf. *id.* (1970).

[25] On the conversion of Jupiter Dolichenus from a Romanized "oriental" god to the principal Roman deity who had taken on "oriental" characteristics see Hörig (1984) 2142–3.

[26] Alföldy (1997) 233, n. 41 and refs., cf. 236 with n. 54, noting Fitz's confirmation that the bells originate from a building south of the west-east *decumanus maximus* and east of the *cardo maximus*; cf. Fedak (1988) 177; *id.* (1991) 224; (1997) 121, n. 25.

[27] Fedak (1993) 294, 296; *id.* (1995) 153; (1997) 119–21 with pl. 8 and nn. 25–8 with refs., observing that *tintinnabula* were characteristic of the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus in particular. The author reasonably supposes an apotropaic function for all these bells and suggests that sets of four served a specific cultic purpose. The circumstance that the four small bells along with an iron axe head were probably secreted in time of danger points to the period around A.D. 235 when sanctuaries of eastern religions were systematically destroyed. Attention may also be called to a variety of other accessories and paraphernalia from the site, some or all of which may have served a cultic function at one of the sanctuaries located in the *area sacra*: bronze medical spoons, iron axes, a glass plate, the handle of a bronze oil lamp with mask-like face, a bronze statuette of a bull, a jug handle decorated with two symmetrically arranged snakes; see further Hörig,

A second document, which seems to belong chronologically with the first, is a building inscription recording the repairs undertaken by Septimius Severus and Caracalla, plainly within the cultic complex.[28] As restored in the Corpus, the text runs:

> [*Imperat*]*ores d*[*d(omini) nn(ostri) L(ucius) Sept(imius)* | *S*]*everus et M(arcus)* [*Aur(elius) Antoninus* | *Aug*]*usti templu(m) D*[*... ve*|*tusta*]*te conlap*[*sum restitu*|*erun*]*t cur*[*ante* — ]. (*CIL* 3, 3342)

Proposed completions of the break after the D in line 3 begin with *D*[*ivi Marci*], suggested by Mommsen on the model of the *temp(lum) Divi Marci* apparently attested in *CIL* 3, 3345 (below, p. 158). Yet this is clearly excluded by the fact that not only is the restitution too short but a supposed temple built to Divus Marcus after his consecration in A.D. 180 could hardly have been described as *vetustate conlapsum* or have needed repair by the reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla. Alternative suggestions include *D*[*ianae*] or *D*[*olicheni*], both of which would likewise be too short; the dedication for the *salus* of the two Augusti (above, p. 135) points in any case to the formula I. O. M. Dolichenus. On the other hand *D*[*ei Invicti Solis*], which would theoretically be long enough, hardly comes into serious consideration given the complete absence of comparative evidence.[29] Fitz himself took the temple in question to be that in the *area sacra* of the supposed provincial centre, in which case it could be dedicated to either Divus Augustus or the Divi Augusti. On the assumption that this inference was largely correct the writer earlier suggested that the text might be completed *templum D*[*ivor(um) Aug(ustorum)*?], much as Fitz had proposed,[30] so refer to the provincial cult of Lower Pannonia. The hypothetical nature of this reconstruction was nevertheless emphasized, as was the need for new evidence that might confirm or invalidate the inferred development, especially when evidence for the provincial worship of the *divi*, whether at Gorsium or elsewhere in Lower Pannonia is totally lacking.

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*o.c.* 2170. For the possible relation of these to the cults of eastern deities, particularly Dolichenus, see Fedak (1993) 296–8 with refs., citing *inter alia* I. Tóth (1976) 117–24.

[28] Vol. I, 2, 305–6.

[29] Alföldy (1997) 235 with n. 51.

[30] Fitz (1972) 41; cf. Vol. I, 2, 306–7 with note 45, noting that Fitz's alternative suggestion *templum D*[*ivi Aug(usti)*] is excluded by the date of the text.

### iii. *The Di Magni: "Oriental Deities"*

In a recently published paper G. Alföldy has now put this whole discussion on a new basis by his decipherment of the damaged first line of *AE* (1972) 432 (above, p. 153).[31] Only the lower part of the lettering is preserved but on Alföldy's reading the letters are clearly discernible apart from two at the end which have disappeared (Pl. 125). What looks to be the first line of the text, since the lettering is larger, plainly read *Ḍịs Magṇ*[*is*] … *(AE*, 1997, 1278). On palaeographic grounds and in light of the filiation given in the name of the dedicator Alföldy dates the text to the second century, no later than the Severan period. More importantly, in a survey of the term in Greek and Latin texts, he convincingly demonstrates that the Di Magni cannot be deities of the Roman pantheon but must rather denote Semitic, Greek or "oriental gods" such as the Punic Saturn or, above all, gods of the mystery religions: Magna Mater, Serapis, Isis, Liber, Hermes Trismegistos *et al.*[32] In Latin epigraphy in particular parallels for the Di Magni of Gorsium include instances of the term in Pannonia Inferior and Dacia, at Lambaesis and at Rome.[33] It follows that the Di Magni at Tác cannot be traditional Roman deities but must be primarily "oriental gods" of universal character, even though some local gods such as Silvanus Magnus could also be intended.

Alföldy's conclusions are by far the most significant contribution to the problem in recent years and have revolutionary consequences for our understanding of the Gorsium enclave in general. Plainly, the circumstance that some priest of the enclave—though not necessarily of these divinities themselves[34]—has paid his vow to the Di Magni on behalf of the *salus* of the *templenses* establishes beyond question the predominantly oriental character of the gods to which the enclave gave lodging. The point is confirmed by one of the key inscriptions considered above (*CIL* 3, 3343), from which it can be legitimately inferred that the centre at which the priests of the whole province assembled on the occasion of the inferred imperial visit in A.D. 202 must be associated at least in part with Dolichenus. More importantly, the vow paid to the Di Magni suggests an attractive new restoration of the building inscription, the third line of which Alföldy would complete *D[eorum Magnorum*.[35] The text would in that event read:

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[31] Alföldy (1997) 225–9. In a recent letter Alföldy stresses that his reappraisal of the epigraphical evidence was inspired by the fundamental work of E. Tóth, the first to recognize that "Gorsium" could not be the centre of the provincial cult of Pannonia Inferior.

[32] The term "oriental gods" is open to numerous objections but can be conveniently used as an established, heuristic category. For discussion see Turcan, Cultes (1992) 9–13, suggesting "religions of oriental origin" or "Greco-Oriental religions"; further MacMullen (1981) 126–7; Beard–North–Price (1988) 246–7; Rives (1998) 349–50, 357, n. 16.

[33] *CIL* 3, 3292 (=*ILS* 4011), *CIL* 3, 1560 (=*ILS* 3845), *AE* (1968) 645, *CIL* 6, 510 (=*ILS* 4152), *CIL* 6, 504, cf. 30779 (=*ILS* 4153).

[34] *Contra* Alföldy (1997) 232.

> *[Imperat]ores d[d(omini) nn(ostri) L(ucius) Septi|mius S]everus et M(arcus) [Aur(elius) Antoninus | P(ius) F(elix) Aug]usti templu(m) D[eorum Magnorum | vetust]ate conlap̣[sum a solo resti|tuerun]t cụṛa[nte — ].*
>
> (*AE*, 1997, 1279)

From a purely epigraphical standpoint this restitution works very well, though it may be noted that Alföldy reads *Septi|mius* in full, whereas Mommsen had proposed *Sept(imius)* (*CIL* 3, 3342); with the end of the first line of the text missing, either version could be correct of course.[36] On the other hand, which structure the text might refer to remains entirely uncertain in the present state of our knowledge. The newly uncovered tetrastyle temple can hardly come into consideration. The inscription of L. Virius Mercator was found at a spot outside the sanctuary, too far away to support a direct connection between the two, and the single base of the cult statue it housed is scarcely in keeping with a temple of the Di Magni (see further below, p. 170).

The oriental character of the *area sacra* looks also to be reflected in a dedication of A.D. 211 again found at Székesfehérvár and nowadays in the museum at Tác. As read by G. Alföldy on the basis of a photograph,[37] the text now runs:

> *[Genio?] templ(ensium) | [Do]mitius Niger | [mi]l(es) ? coh(ortis) III B(atavorum) et | [A]ur(elius) Victor | [sa]cerd(otes) temp(li) | Divi Marci | Kal(endis) Mais Gen(tiano) | et Basso co(n)s(ulibus) d(ederunt).* (*CIL* 3, 3345)

It was argued earlier that this temple of Divus Marcus cannot be provincial but must rather be municipal.[38] Alföldy adds that the relatively low status of the dedicators tells strongly against their possible connection with the provincial cult, while the participation of a soldier of the *cohors III Batavorum* in the dedication suggests the stone might originate from the base of these troops at Vetus Salina (modern Adony). In a reply to Alföldy's proposal, however, Fitz argues that stones were certainly moved from Tác to Székesfehérvár, so it remains perfectly possible that this particular stone originated in Tác rather than Adony.[39] If the expansion *templ(ensium)* is in fact correct, this would seem to tie the stone to Gorsium.[40] It is difficult to think that Domitius Niger and Aurelius Victor will have made a dedication at Vetus Salina to the *templenses* of Gorsium and we have no evidence for a second group of *templenses* elsewhere in Lower Pannonia.[41] Presumably the pair had made a "pilgrimage" to the centre at Gorsium.

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[35] Alföldy, *o.c.* 235–6, with proposed facsimile (Abb. 3) and nn. 50–2.

[36] The text breaks off after *curante*. For two contemporary dedications to Septimius Severus and Iulia Domna *curante Q. Anicio Fausto leg. Augustorum pr. pr.* see *CIL* 3, 1685–6 (Mustapha Pascha Palanka, Moesia Superior).

[37] *Id.* (1997) 239, no. 6.

[38] Vol. I, 2, 305.

As presently restored, the text presents various difficulties. The first word had earlier been completed [*Tutelae*?] in the Corpus; Fitz suggested at one stage *antistes*, *curator* or *praefectus*[42]; Alföldy more plausibly proposes [*Genio*?], which fits the break. The difficulty here is that *genius* would be more appropriate of an association, place or office, hence Alföldy's completion *templ(ensium)* rather than, say, *templ(i)*. Then there is the formulation *sacerd(otes) templ(i)*, which again would be most unusual. Why should there be two *sacerdotes* if this was a temple of the imperial cult? As one priest, not a college, was the rule, *sacerd(os)* looks by far the likelier completion, especially as the soldier Domitius Niger can hardly have been attached to a temple while serving with the *cohors III Batavorum* stationed at Vetus Salina. More to the point in the present context, the genitive *templi* after *sacerdos / flamen* is foreign to Roman practice; in fact this particular instance may be the only example in the imperial worship of the Latin west.[43] In non-Roman cults in contrast a priest performed various duties about the temple, tasks that would have fallen, say, to an *aedituus* in a cult of the Roman people. Thus at

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[39] Alföldy, *o.c.* 240; Nachtrag 3, cf. 230.

[40] On the completion [*Genio*] *templ(ensium)*, it is easier to believe that the *templenses* (above, n. 16) were an association of permanent temple personnel (priests and others) at Gorsium rather than a continually changing congregation of worshippers, for whom a *genius* is scarcely appropriate,

[41] A sanctuary of Dolichenus nevertheless existed at Adony; cf. Hörig (1984) 2150–1. For the mixed civilian-military clientele of Dolichenus see *ead.*, *o.c.* 2163–5. G. Alföldy kindly writes that in his opinon a second group of *templenses* could well have existed at Adony.

[42] Fitz, Gorsium (1972) 39.

[43] The form *sacerdos arae* occurs at Lugdunum (*CIL* 13, 1719) as well as in Dacia and the two provinces of Pannonia (Vol. III, 2, 263–5, 273–4, 283); cf. Deininger (1965) 118.

Chisiduo, for example, one finds the formula *flamen templi domini Aesculapi* (*CIL* 8, 1267); evidently a priest acted here as one of the temple personnel.[44] Perhaps the simplest explanation in this case, then, is that the genitive *templ(i)* has been conditioned by the impact of "oriental cults" in Lower Pannonia, notably at the important centre of Gorsium. In any event, *Divi Marci*, which is secure, must echo the fact that Aurelius served the cult of the deified Marcus. Precisely where is unclear, but, if Domitius Niger travelled from his base at Adony to Gorsium, it is possible that Aurelius Victor, who joined in making a dedication [*Genio?*] *templ(ensium)*, was in fact a local priest at Vetus Salina rather than Gorsium, where so far there seems to be no other epigraphical trace of the ruler cult.[45]

As for several remaining epigraphical texts, Fitz himself has proposed a further temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Elagabalus at Gorsium, built by order of the provincial governor and funded by soldiers stationed at Intercisa (*AE*, 1973, 437 bis).[46] The building inscription, which was found at Székesfehérvár, attests in fact a temple of Deus Sol Elagabalus that Alföldy shows to have been more likely constructed at the fort of the *cohors I miliaria Hemesenorum* at Intercisa (cf. *RIU* 1104).[47] Alföldy also excludes from the sanctuary at Tác an altar dedicated by the *duumviri* of Aquincum (*CIL* 3, 3347)[48] and groups it with a series of altars from a Celtic sanctuary on the Gellértberg (Budapest) that were dedicated for the *salus* of the reigning emperors to I. O. M. Conservator Teutanus and other deities on June 11, A.D. 178, the festival of the main deity of the Eravisci; the stone moved from one place to another in the Middle Ages before arriving at Székesfehérvár like so many other inscribed stones from different parts of the province.[49] On the other hand, if Fitz is right that a head of Teutanus at Intercisa has been removed from Tác,[50] it is just possible that the *area sacra* at Gorsium may also have housed a sanctuary of the Celtic deity Teutanus, though the cult is not otherwise attested outside Aquincum.

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[44] Vol. I, 2, 246.

[45] *Contra* Fitz, Gorsium (1972) 46–8, cf. 49.

[46] Fitz (1998) 27.

[47] *Id.* (1997) 238, no. 5.

[48] *Ibid.* no. 3.

[49] Fitz (1998) 27, erroneously states that the altar was erected *pro salute templensium* as well as for the welfare of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.

[50] *Id.* (1998) 27.

### iv. *Plan and Location*

Quite apart from the evidence of epigraphical texts the physical layout of the precinct also points to the presence of "oriental deities". As Alföldy stresses, most of the preserved traces look entirely inconsistent with what one finds at centres of the provincial cult elsewhere in the Latin west. Sundry architectonic remains point to non-Roman divinities as also do two carefully worked reliefs of reclining "river gods" from the *nymphaea* flanking the central stairway to the *area sacra* (Vol. I, 2, Pl. LXI).[51] More particularly, the cylindrical "meeting hall" (60 × 12m) with its adjoining structure divided into multiple rooms (Fig. 1: VII, IX; cf. Vol. I, 2, Pl. LXII)[52] bears no resemblance to the minimal traces of provincial *curiae* one finds at centres elsewhere in the west[53] but suggests a reception hall for crowds of worshippers rather than the select number of delegates who composed the provincial council.[54] In fact the complex as a whole suggests a sanctuary of Dolichenus,[55] which not only housed the god but accommodated votaries—the initiates who participated in devotions along with one or more permanent priests[56]—and included an administrative headquarters concerned with management of the sanctuary and a hall for the banquets that crowned celebrations.[57] While there seems to be no plan that can be considered typical of such Dolichena, some correlations can be seen with the temple at Carnuntum, which was in existence by the reign of Commodus and may have included a dependant meeting hall, or the more elaborate ensemble at Virunum with four rooms, two of which may correspond to a *sacrarium* and *triclinium*.[58]

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[51] For a detailed picture see Fitz (1980) figs. III–IV., pls. 4–8; Fitz–Fedak (1993) 265–6 with figs. 3f.; Alföldy (1997) 233 with nn. 41–2. One of the anonymous assessors (see above, n. 1) observes that "the two relief slabs of reclining aquatic deities from the *nymphaea* … are the most unusual representations of this otherwise well known motif. They surely could not have apppeared fully dressed with side arms in a purely western depiction of the theme".

[52] For doubts that a room shaped like a corridor could have served as a *curia* see in the first place E. Tóth (1989) 50–1.

[53] For the possible assembly hall of the *concilium* of Britannia located in the eastern sector of the colony at Camulodunum see above, p. 146. The basilica-like building in the supposed provincial zone at Emerita might have served a similar purpose (above, pp. 48–51), while the *podium* of the *curia* of Gallic delegates may have been identified at the federal sanctuary by Lugdunum (above, pp. 125–6). The only clue to a similar hall at Tarraco is provided by inscriptions referring to the seats of delegates (above, p. 34).

[54] In the Greek East 150 representatives are known to have participated in a session of the *koinon* of Asia, so individual cities must clearly have sent more than one deputy—Smyrna is so recorded specifically; see Deininger (1965) 143, cf. 40, 51. The number of *legati* who made up the council of any province in the Latin west is unknown but the inscription of T. Sennius Sollemnis at Vieux records that the Viducasses sent more that one delegate to the *concilium* of Tres Galliae (*CIL* 13, 3162: III, 22–3). The point is equally clear from the special seats reserved for delegates at the amphitheatre of the Three Gauls, where inscriptions preserve the names of various tribes including the Bituriges Cubi and Tricasses, who appear several times: Vol. II, 1, 581 with n. 649 and refs.; further above, p. 122). The number of Gallic tribes represented at the Confluence is given as 60 by Strabo (4, 3, 2) and 64 by Tacitus (*Ann.* 3, 44: A.D. 21), a discrepancy probably to be explained by the different geographical areas included in the calculation: Vol. III, 2, 55. Whether every *civitas* contributed more than one delegate and, if so, how many is unknown: some system of proportional representation has been suggested but lacks supporting evidence. At all events a total figure of between, say, one and three hundred looks a reasonable estimate. Other

Above all it should be stressed that the site of the enclave is out of keeping with the usual location of provincial sanctuaries elsewhere in the West. More often than not these lie on the periphery of the settlement and are not in the vicinity of the municipal Capitolium, here located north-west of the small civic forum which is situated at the intersection of the *decumanus maximus* and *cardo maximus*[59] (Fig. 1: XIV); the scheme at Tarraco, Narbo or Camulodunum illustrates this point beyond question.[60] At Gorsium, in contrast, the sacred enclosure and

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large provinces such as Hispania citerior, Baetica, Narbonensis or Africa Proconsularis must have assembled somewhat fewer *legati* than Lugdunesis, Aquitania and Belgica combined, smaller province considerably less. As for Lower Pannonia, it is difficult to think that its provincial *concilium* counted more than a hundred or so members, if that. The figure is significant since the premises within the *area sacra* at Gorsium could clearly have accommodated many hundreds of visitors, a figure far too large for the delegates of the *concilium*, even including their possible retinue, but plainly appropriate to throngs of zealots.

[55] Already suggested by E. Tóth (1989) 52–3, on condition that construction is not earlier than the reign of Hadrian. But see below, nn. 92–3.

[56] On the priests, officials and ritual of Dolichenus with its banquets, processions, lustrations and possible use of dreams and oracles see Merlat (1960) 198–207; Hörig (1984) 2170–3. For the adherents of Jupiter Dolichenus see the outline of Beard–North–Price (1998) 275.

[57] See in general Hörig (1984) 2169; Turcan, Cultes (1992) 156–65, especially 161–2; MacMullen (1981) 38 with n. 21.

[58] For an overview of known *Dolichena* see Merlat (1960) 129–67, especially 138–42 with figs. 17–19; Hörig (1984) 2145–63, especially 2150–3 (Pannonia). On the sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus on the Aventine see Coarelli (1983) 344–5; Beard–North–Price (1998) 275 with n. 87 and refs., 281.

[59] Fitz, Gorsium (1972) 29–30; *PECS* 361–2 (Fitz), noting that stairs interspersed with *nymphaea* connected the forum with the buildings of the Capitol; Fitz–Fedak (1993) 265.

[60] At Lugdunum the site of the federal sanctuary lies a kilometre or so upstream from the colony of Lugdunum. With their status presently uncertain the putative provincial centres at Emerita and Corduba are best left out of consideration, though

its buildings, placed immediately east of the forum would be eminently suited to a sanctuary of "oriental deities". From this point of view, then, the very site of the cultic complex is consistent rather with a sanctuary largely given over to gods unrelated to the Roman pantheon.

## v. *A Provincial Temple?*

What is one to make, then, of the new proposal that the tetrastyle temple is the provincial temple of Lower Pannonia and Fitz's continued insistence on completing the third line of the building inscription either *D*[*ivi Augusti* or *D*[*ivorum Augustorum*?

No restitution along these lines would make sense, of course, without some trace of the provincial imperial cult at Gorsium, evidence that Alföldy rightly insists does not exist in epigraphical form. The brick stamps in particular need not necessarily be completed *te(mplum) pr(ovinciae)*. As a rule, such stamps give the name of the manufacturer or the company in whose workshop the bricks were made. Bricks with a similar stamp have appeared not only at Tác but also at Tés near the border between the two provinces, so the name of some manufacturer TE( … ) PR( … ) might well be intended or, as E. Tóth has suggested, *te(gularia) pr(ovinciae)*—not to exclude other possibilities.[61]

Fitz's answer is to adduce evidence of a different kind.[62] After the centre was destroyed in A.D. 260 stone monuments, reliefs and statues were removed in large quantities to Intercisa, the camp on the Danube. At Gorsium itself the rebuilding of the Tetrarchic period superimposed an entirely new town on the ruins of the old, the *area sacra* in particular being obliterated. Numerous iconographic fragments from this sacred region found a secondary use, partly within the foundations of the walls and towers constructed round the new town, partly incorporated into its earliest buildings such as the palace, the basilica or *tabernae*. Then in the early eleventh century large sections of the town walls, complete with inbuilt stone carvings, were removed to Székesfehérvár with the result that clusters of reliefs, animal figures, and scenes from mythology, originally from the *area sacra* of Roman Gorsium, occur today at

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in both of these cases an existing area nearer the centre of the city may have been used for provincial purposes. Nowhere, it should be stressed, does one find a complex of buildings comparable to that at Gorsium.

[61] Alföldy (1997) 231–2 with nn. 33, 36; E. Tóth (1989) 53, cf. 45–6.

[62] *Id.* (1998) 26.

Tác, Intercisa and Székesfehérvár in a scatter of iconographic vestiges. Among these Fitz distinguishes three coherent groups:[63] a Trojan cycle that seems closely related to coin issues of Antoninus Pius struck A.D. 140–4 in anticipation of the ninth centenary of Rome in A.D. 148[64]—these show among other familiar themes Aeneas fleeing from Troy and the dragging of Hector; representations of Hercules and his exploits, possibly to be connected with the *ludi saeculares* celebrated in A.D. 204 by Septimius Severus, whose *patria* of Lepcis Magna held Hercules in particular honour;[65] animal scenes with the figure of the stag, a motif typical of coins struck in A.D. 248 by Philippus Arabs, who in this year celebrated the one-thousandth year of Rome with secular games including an immense wild beast show in the circus.[66] Fitz argues that these three anniversaries, celebrated by the central régime and plainly reflected in elaborate, carved fragments that originated from Gorsium, are inseparable from the ideology of the imperial cult and suggest a provincial rather than local muncipal context. Where exactly the reliefs may originally have been placed remains very conjectural,[67] but taken as a whole this body of iconographic material strongly supports the claims of Gorsium to have been the provincial centre of Lower Pannonia.

Two points call for comment in this connection. The first is that, while these groups of iconographic fragments patently reflect imperial themes, it is difficult to see how they could in any way relate to the imperial cult. Certainly nothing comparable occurs at any provincial centre elsewhere in the Latin west. In particular they bear no resemblance, say, to the relief panels that decked the porticos leading to the temple of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias,[68] not that this complex is paralleled at any provincial centre in the western empire. More probably the significance of the Gorsium fragments is to be sought in a different connection. It so happens that reliefs with similar themes taken from mythology—not only the tales of Troy but other myths also: Admetus and Alcestis, Hercules and Hesione—are common enough in Pannonia, particularly at Aquincum and Intercisa.[69] With these traces also belong instances of plastic art in tondo as in one example at Tác (Aeneas). Since the common denominator of all these is a reference to death or rescue from it and similar scenes appear on grave stones and sarcophagi, the *communis opinio* is that they derive from funerary monuments.[70] That such was the orginal context of the reliefs at Tác seems far likelier, then, than to associate them with a supposed centre of the provincial imperial cult.

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[63] Fitz–Fedak (1993) 267; Fitz, *ibid.*, citing Barkóczi (1984).

[64] See in particular *RIC* 3, 37, no. 91; 109, no. 615; 111, no. 627.

[65] Vol. I, 2, 337–9.

[66] *RIC* 4, 3, 58–9, 70–1, nos. 12–25. The reverses show animals with SAECVLARES AVGG.

[67] Cf. Fitz (1998) 26: "As for the original site of the reliefs we can only make some conjectures: the West-East directed expanding of the colonnade on level 3 (Nr. XXIV) can be dated to the decades after the Marcommanic Wars, its inauguration could be probably dated to 202, the Gorsium visit of Septimius Severus. This can point to the hypothesis that the Hercules series might have belonged to this hall. In this case it is likely that the series made for the festivities held during the reign of Antoninus Pius might have decorated the early ala of the hall (Nr. XXIV). As for the third group, in the present stage of the excavation we have no starting point as yet." Cf. Fitz–Fedak (1993) 267: "The mythological reliefs which adorned the *curia*, temples and halls of the imperial cult come from three different periods ..."

As for the temple itself, the full details of this have not yet been revealed but it seems already clear that, at *ca.* 15 × 40m on a *podium*, it is one of the largest temples in the province of Pannonia.[71] Comparison with similar buildings in other provinces is instructive. Clearly it is longer, for example, than the hexastyle temple (of uncertain attribution) in the Calle Claudio Marcelo at Corduba; as all commentators have emphasized, the proportions of the *podium* of this structure (32 × 16 × 3.5m) closely resemble those of the Maison Carée at Nîmes (above, p. 93). By comparison the enormous (32 × 41m) octostyle temple recently identified in the grounds of the convent of the Verbe Incarné at Lugdunum is twice as wide; once thought be a municipal imperial temple, this turns out to be more probably a Capitolium.[72] On the other hand the Gorsium temple is narrower but longer than the octostyle "Temple of Claudius" at Camulodunum, the large *podium* of which (31.5 × 24m) is preserved beneath the Norman Castle (above, pp. 139–40). Nothing is known of the size of the provincial temple of Tres Galliae, which evidently stood to the rear of the federal altar,[73] but at Tarraco both the projected edifice on the coins, which plainly illustrates a structure modelled on the octostyle temple of Mars Ultor, and the surviving *disiecta membra* point to an enormous edifice on the uppermost level of the triple-tiered, provincial enclosure north-west of the city forum.[74] The building excavated to the south east of the *area sacra* at Gorsium (Fig. 1: LXX) looks smaller by comparison and with four columns rather than eight[75] is out of line with most other provincial temples we presently know.[76] By and large its proportions seem not to fit the general pattern of a provincial temple.

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[68] For detailed analysis see Smith (1987) throughout.

[69] *RE* Suppl. 9 (1962) 516–776 at 759 with bibl. (Mócsy); Erdélyi (1974) 131–52. I am much indebted to G. Alföldy for information and references.

[70] See the synopsis of Erdélyi (1974) *passim.*

[71] Fedak (1995) 150–1. I am indebted to an anonymous referee (see above, n. 1) for the approximate dimensions of the temple.

[72] See now Di Vita-Évrard (2001).

[73] Cf. the formula *ad aram … apud templum* or variant attested by three Severan texts: *CIL* 13, 1702, 1712, 11174. For the temple of the Three Gauls see above, pp. 123–4.

With nothing archaeological, epigraphic, iconographic or architectonic to draw on in support, the argument for a provincial centre at Gorsium with a temple and altar as its focal point begins to look a lost cause. It remains to bring out a point missed in all previous discussion of the *area sacra*. Enough is now known of the development of the imperial cult in the Latin west to confirm that in every instance a provincial temple is associated with the cult of the *divi*. At Tarraco this is attested by the literary record (Tac. *Ann.* 1.78: A.D. 15) and by inscriptions, which begin early under Vespasian and confirm the inclusion of the deified *Augusti* in the provincial cult.[77] At Emerita the situation is less clear but the building illustrated on coins, evidently a temple of the province not of the city, is concerned with the deified emperor as at Tarraco; whether or not this was the monumental edifice in the Calle de Holguín may be clarified by the current round of excavations. For the moment it is certain that in this province too the provincial worship was directed to deified emperors from the start.[78] In both Hispania citerior and Lusitania, it should be added, the term for the provincial priest is *flamen*. As for the other provincial temples so far known, archaeological exploration has produced no certain vestige of the structure at Lugdunum but inscriptions strongly suggest that its construction coincided with the extension of the provincial cult under Hadrian to include deified emperors.[79] In this instance the existing term *sacerdos*, originally appropriate to the cult of Roma and the living Augustus at the altar by the Confluence, continued in use despite the expansion of the worship. At Camulodunum in contrast a temple to the deified Claudius *ab initio* is surely implied by Tacitus' reference *templum Divo Claudio constitutum* (*Ann.* 14, 31).[80] No direct evidence survives on the cult the temple served then or later but all analogy with other provincial temples plainly requires that it catered to one or more *divi*, certainly not just the living emperor.[81]

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[74] For the evidence and detailed discussion see above, pp. 11–30.

[75] For the point that a provincial temple would more probably be octostyle as at Nicomedia, Ancyra, Camulodunum and Tarraco (on the evidence of coins) or hexastyle as at Pergamum see Vol. III, 1, 48–50.

[76] On the status and dimensions of the temple in Calle Holguín at Emerita see above, pp. 43, 52–8, 61. This particular structure looks to have been smaller than the Gorsium temple.

[77] Vol. I, 2, 269–77; III, 1, 164–6; III, 2, 101–23. See further above, p 5.

[78] Vol. I, 1, 157–8; III, 1, 59–60; III, 2, 150–3. See further above, pp. 41, 43.

[79] Vol. I, 2, 308–16; III, 1, 182–4. See further above, pp. 123–4.

In contrast, regional or provincial cult of the living emperor, initially in company with Roma so far as one can tell, is always associated with an altar. This is plainly the case with a whole range of altars established under Augustus, notably at Lugdunum but also at several regional centres elsewhere: Arae Sestianae in north-west Spain, Ara Ubiorum near modern Cologne, on the east bank of the Elbe, perhaps also among the Lingones.[82] The same combination is very possibly to be inferred at Camulodunum under Claudius, where Tacitus' use of the term *sacerdotes* (*ibid.*), if strict, would support the possibility that the cult was originally addressed to the living Claudius (with Roma?) at an altar, precisely as in Gallia Comata.[83] By analogy the same must be true of the Flavian *Arae Flaviae* in the *Agri Decumates*: comparison with previous practice surely requires that these will have been erected to the *living* Vespasian, Titus and Domitian.[84] Significantly the term for the priest in such a context is *sacerdos*, wherever his title is attested.[85] The point likewise holds for later foundations in the Danube region. More particularly, the provincial priest in Dacia, Upper and Lower Pannonia, Lower Moesia—no trace has surfaced in Upper Moesia—and Dalmatia is uniformly styled *sacerdos* throughout the period for which evidence has survived,[86] while in Dacia and the two provinces of Pannonia we have explicit evidence that the provincial priest served the living emperor, now alone, at an altar.[87] The key text for present purposes is the inscription of C. Titius Antonius Peculiaris, who is attested at Aquincum as *sacerdos arae Aug(usti) n(ostri) p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) infer(ioris)* (*CIL* 3, 10496).[88]

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[80] Vol. I, 2, 202–15; III, 1, 82–3.

[81] *Contra* Beard–North–Price (1998) 353, n. 113. The essential connection of provincial temples with the cult of the *divi* surely confirms that the temple at Camulodunum served the deified Claudius. At the municipal level, in contrast, a temple could certainly be built to the living emperor, in which event it was located on or by the town forum. This is plainly not the case with the Camulodunum temple, which strictly speaking was constructed outside the city limits. See above, p. 137 with n. 7.

[82] Vol. I, 1, 137–46; III, 1, 9–23. A single exception to this general principle occurs at Lugdunum, where an inscription known only from the manuscript tradition attests a *sacerdos ad aram Romae et Augustor(um)* (*CIL* 13, 1718). Presumably the federal altar temporarily accommodated the cult of the *divi* before the temple of Tres Galliae was in cultic service.

[83] Vol. III, 1, 89–91.

[84] Vol. I, 2, 298; Vol. III, 1, 145–8. See now the pertinent remarks of Liertz (1998) 53–5 with n. 189, cf. 106.

[85] On the priesthood of Tres Galliae see Vol. III, 2, 25ff. with table of priests at 60–71. Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 357, n. 128, refer erroneously to the *flamines* of the Three Gauls.

The significance of the foregoing survey for present purposes is self-evident. With no testimony whatsoever for the cult of deified, deceased emperors in Pannonia Inferior, a provincial temple anywhere in the province looks an impossibility. The situation would naturally change should evidence to the contrary put in an appearance, but the circumstance that the provincial priest was uniformly termed *sacerdos* makes that eventuality remote. At all events there is nothing to suggest a comparable development to what one finds in Tres Galliae or perhaps Britannia, where *sacerdos* continued in use even after the inclusion of the *divi* within the provincial worship. It might be added that precisely the same argument holds for all provinces of the Danube region. As the inscription of C. Titius Antonius Peculiaris shows, the provincial cult of Lower Pannonia centred on an altar served by a *sacerdos*. While there is no direct evidence, the fact that his inscription was found at Aquincum, the capital city of the province, strongly suggests that the altar was located here (cf. *CIL* 3, 10495). This would be in contrast to the apparent situation in Upper Pannonia and the two provinces of Moesia, where provincial centres occur elsewhere than at the provincial capital,[89] but in conformity with the location of the provincial centre at

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[86] For analysis of the provincial priesthood in the Danube provinces with tables of incumbents see Vol. III, 2, 255–88.

[87] Priests of Lower Pannonia are documented above, n. 17. In Upper Pannonia cf.: [*sac. ar*]*ae Augg.* [*provinc*]*iae P. s.*: *CIL* 3, 4170 = *RIU* 71 (Savaria); *sacerdot. arae Aug.*: *AE*, 1979, 468 = *ILIug* 1169 = *AE*, 1983, 774 (Aquae Iasae). For provincial priests of Dacia see Ardevan (1998) 328–41 with Table LVII. Cf. in particular *sacerdos arae Aug.*: *IDR* 3/2, 108, cf. 19, 107 (Sarmizegetusa); *sacerd. arae Aug.*: *CIL* 3, 1209 (Apulum); *sac.*] *arae A*[*ugusti n.*]: *IDR* 3/2, 217 (Sarmizegetusa; Vol. III, 1, Pl. 20); *sac. arae Aug.*: *AE*, 1930, 8 (Apulum); [*sacerdos ar*]*ae Aug. n.* [*coronat. Dac. I*]*II*: Ardevan, *o.c. Repertoriul Material. Epigrafic* no. 463 = Piso, Epigraphica (XI) (1980) 125–7 (Napoca); *sacerdos arae Aug. n. coronatus Dac. III*: *IDR* 3/2, 266 (Sarmizegetusa); [*sac. arae Aug.*?] n.: *IDR* 3/2, 132 (findspot unknown).

[88] See Vol. III, 2, 277–81.

[89] Fitz (1985) 262.

Sarmizegetusa, the capital of Dacia,[90] and at provincial capitals generally in the West. Any possibility that Gorsium might have served as such a centre in Lower Pannonia is therefore excluded and the hypothesis of a provincial temple in the *area sacra* of the city collapses on the premise of this argument alone—quite apart from the overwhelming difficulties brought out above.[91]

### vi. *A Sanctuary for Oriental Deities*

On a more positive note there is every reason to believe that the splendid excavations carried out on the site at Tác over the past thirty years or so have revealed one of the most important centres of "oriental deities" to have so far been identified anywhere in the Roman empire. The remarkable complexity of its lay-out (Fig. 1) with a cluster of possible temples (XVII, XVIII?, LXXIV), well sanctuary (XXXIV), and hall (XXIV) located beyond the central Dolichenum(?) amply explains its role as the nodal point at which the priests of all the province assembled to receive the imperial visit of A.D. 202 (*CIL* 3, 3343). Or at least this picture is true of the enclave by the end of the second century A.D. The sanctuary itself appears to date from the reign of Trajan, more precisely from the years after A.D. 106,[92] in which case its construction would coincide with the earlier spread of the cult of Dolichenus in the first three decades of the second century when soldiers returning from the east brought back the worship of this among other "oriental deities".[93] The convention of A.D. 202, in contrast, would on I. Tóth's analysis coincide with a second phase about the turn of the second century when numerous civilians, mostly businessmen, migrated to Pannonia from Syria and elsewhere in the east. Against this background the status of the centre at Gorsium as the religious hub of Pannonia looks very plausible.

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[90] Ardevan (1998) 334–5 with Tables III–VIII, XXII, LV. See further below, pp. 173–7.

[91] Cf. E. Tóth (1989) 54, with summary of earlier objections.

[92] Fitz–Fedak (1993) 264 with refs., noting that the structures originally associated with the supposed provincial centre were completed by the *legio II Adiutrix*, whose stamped bricks survive; cf. Fitz (1998) 25.

[93] Fedak (1993) 297–8, citing I. Tóth (1971) 83. On the cult of Dolichenus in Pannonia see Fitz (1959) 258–62; Kádár (1962) 2, 15–17, 31–9, 42–54, 63–7, 75–80, 85, observing that the bulk of the evidence belongs to the period from the later second century to the first part of the third. For a Hadrianic text from Carnuntum see Fitz, *o.c.* 258, nn. 205–6 with refs.; cf. Kádár, *o.c.* 75, n. 2; cf. Popa–Berciu (1978) 48–9, noting a similar evolution of the cult in Dacia, where the earliest evidence dates from the reign of Antoninus Pius.

A key question that arises in the same connection is to which particular structure the building inscription relates in recording the restorations of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (*CIL* 3, 3343); we have seen that the likeliest completion of the break in line 3 is *templu(m) D*[*eorum Magnorum* …]. As the Dolichenum itself can hardly be described as a temple of the Di Magni, some other structure in the sacred area must presumably be meant, yet there seems to be no obvious parallel to which one can turn for comparative purposes. None of the testimonia cited by Alföldy in his useful summary does in fact refer to a temple of the Di Magni, and what particular deities might have been represented in such a temple remains a matter for conjecture. This line of argument presumes of course that the text refers to a single building that had collapsed with age. An alternative possibility, not to be excluded from consideration, is that *templum* is used here in its original spatial sense of "sanctuary" or "sacred enclosure" and so refers to the whole *area sacra*[94], the site of shrines and temples of various deities who, as *AE* (1972) 432 confirms, could be collectively termed Di Magni. Certainly the entire enclave will have been caught up in the rebuilding and renovations that eventually followed the devastation of the town during the Marcommanic wars (A.D. 160–80) and were pressed ahead under Septimius Severus and Caracalla.[95] One point that tells in favour of this hypothesis is the term *templenses* (*AE*, 1972, 432), which—whatever its precise significance—surely refers to those who ministered or were accommodated in the *area sacra*, the *temenos* or *templum* as a whole (above, p. 153). Some new epigraphical text unearthed by current or future excavations may yet provide a final answer.

A connected problem still outstanding concerns the affiliation of the recently identifed tetrastyle temple. In the absence of any epigraphic clue discussion is necessarily tentative but the classic design combined with its considerable dimensions and costly stone columns suggests a link with some Roman rather than purely oriental deity. Given the position of the temple on a rise overlooking the forum, a primary candidate might be Jupiter Optimus Maximus, especially if construction took place under Trajan, whose Jovian theology of imperial power is reflected in the epithet Optimus granted him by the Senate in A.D. 114 but used unofficially as early as 100.[96] The point would be reinforced if the Gorsium temple was in fact begun under the governorship of P. Aelius Hadrian (above, p. 149 with n. 4), who as emperor Hellenized and reinforced in official ideology the role of Jupiter, who had granted the purple to his delegate.[97] In that case Jupiter may well have been worshipped in some local idiom, quite possibly as Dolichenus (cf. *CIL* 3, 3343: above, p. 155).[98] It might also be noted in this connection that vestiges of a rectangular structure, possibly the remains of another temple, are beginning to take shape immediately to the south on the east side of the forum, where there would also be room for a third temple,[99] and that no evidence has yet surfaced of a *municipal* temple of the imperial cult, a structure which the settlement can hardly have lacked.

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[94] *OLD* 1924 s.v. *templum* 2; *RE* 2, 9 (1934) 480–5 (Weinstock). Cf. the enclosure known as the Templum Pacis that stretched before the Temple of Pax begun by Vespasian at Rome in A.D. 75 (Suet., *Vesp*. 9; Paus. 6, 9, 3). See above, pp. 21–2 with nn. 58, 35.

[95] Fitz–Fedak (1993) 270; Fedak (1995) 138. On any interpretation of the inscription the formula *vetustate conlapsum* glosses over the damage caused by the successful incursion of the Sarmatians.

A final consideration to be factored into any general assessment of the *area sacra* is its possible relation to the extensive complex at Szabadbattyán some 6km from Tác-Gorsium. The first details of this, the results of three campaigns, have yet to be published but the widespread architectural remains include numerous column bases, a large *tumulus*(?), and rooms with well preserved frescoes. To determine the precise character of these structures will require more field work.[100] Similarly at Gorsium the answers to so many pertinent questions depend upon the continued success of the Hungarian and Canadian teams currently excavating the site; only their explorations can bring to light the further archaeological, epigraphical, numismatic or iconographic data that are badly needed to widen our understanding of this important centre. For the moment it is worth stressing that, whatever identifications of particular structures may eventually emerge, the existence at Gorsium of a temple of Pannonia inferior, supposedly located at the presumed provincial centre, looks out of the question. Conversely the *area sacra* has all the appearance of a prominent sanctuary of oriental deities, a Mecca for followers of Dolichenus and the like throughout Pannonia and no doubt beyond.

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[96] Fears (1981) 80–5.

[97] Fears, *o.c.* 85–9; Fishwick, Don (1992) 397 with nn. 57–8.

[98] On the popularity of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus as opposed to the Capitoline Triad in Pannonia see *RE* Suppl. 9 (1962) 728–30 (Mócsy). In commenting on the proposed identification of the tetrastyle temple, Alföldy kindly writes that Hungarian colleagues have recently come independently to the same conclusion following the (not yet published) discovery of several large bells on the temple floor. For the circumstance that an extremely wide range of gods is represented alongside Jupiter in the sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus on the Aventine see Beard–North–Price (1998) 281. Even so, it is difficult to think that a temple of Jupiter Dolichenus at Gorsium would have been termed a *templum Deorum Magnorum*; see above, p. 158.

[99] Fedak (1997) 125.

[100] Information kindly supplied by an anonymous referee, who reports that excavations at the site are conducted by St. Stephen Museum at Székesfehérvár under the direction of G. Nádorfi.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

# SARMIZEGETUSA

Annexed by Trajan at the beginning of the second century, Dacia is now known to have been divided into the three provinces of Dacia Inferior, Dacia Superior and Dacia Porolissensis following the accession of Hadrian (A.D. 118–19),[1] but on the reorganization of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 168/69) these three divisions were united under one governor with the names Dacia Porolissensis, Dacia Apulensis (Upper Dacia), and Dacia Malvensis (Lower Dacia). Sarmizegetusa, the residence of the provincial legate in Dacia Superior, seems to have served as the capital of Dacia even before Roman control was firmly established, much as did Camulodunum in Britain. On its foundation after the second Dacian War but before Trajan's departure for Rome in May, A.D. 107, the Roman city was granted the status of a colony and attributed to the *tribus Papiria* with the title Colonia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa (*IDR* 3, 2, 1; A.D. 106/107), to which the by-name Metropolis was added under Severus Alexander (*CIL* 3, p. 228).[2] That Sarmizegetusa served as the centre of the provincial cult seems clear from the relatively numerous inscriptions the city has produced, attesting a single *concilium* for the three provinces and a provincial *sacerdos* who served at the *Ara Augusti* (*CIL* 3, p. 229);[3] the comparison with the council of the Three Gauls and the federal priesthood at the altar by Lugdunum is strikingly close, though the administrative division of Dacia was never as sharp as that of Tres Galliae.

Excavation of the forum of Sarmizegetusa was pioneered by C. Daicoviciu, whose interpretation of its various structures has now been radically revised by R. Etienne, I. Piso and A. Diaconiscu.[4] The details are not germane to the present discussion but it is worth noting that the architectural scheme dates from the time of Trajan and belongs to the well-known series of two forums connected by a diaphragmatic basilica. Essentially, a civil forum to the north is separated from a religious forum to the south by a building 65m long by 17m wide; originally mistaken for the *aedes Augustalium* on the basis of epigraphical evidence, the structure is far too large to have served as the locale of such a college and has now been identified as a *basilica transitoria* with *tribunalia*. In the west part of the religious forum, which has yet to be excavated, can be distiguished a rectangular structure belonging to a temple of some sort, but more important for present purposes is a large base placed on the central axis of the civil forum. Daicoviciu recognized this as the *Ara Augusti* known from the titles of provincial priests and inferred that it would have been at this altar that the council of Tres Daciae met in celebrating the ceremonies of the imperial cult.[5] As recent investigation has made clear, however, this cannot have been a provincial monument but must rather be the base of a statue set up by the colony in line with standard practice elsewhere. Presumably it was dedicated to an emperor.

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[1] For documentation see Vol. III, 1, 173–4, n. 5.

[2] Dacoviciu, Severus (1966) 153–71; Wolff (1976); Etienne–Piso–Diaconescu, Propylées (1990) 108–9; Etienne–Piso–Diaconescu (1994) 160–1.

[3] For the development of the provincial cult and its organs see Vol. III, 1, 173–6, 206–9.

[4] Étienne–Piso–Diaconescu, Forums (1990) 276ff., 287ff. with refs., cf. fig. 1; *eid.*, Propylées (1990) 91–7 with fig. 1; (1994) throughout.

The key consideration for present purposes is that archaeological exploration has now revealed the existence of a third area, just outside the limits of the colony,[6] where an amphitheatre stands, and 80m to the east of this, some 30m south of the Asklepieion, what looks like an inscribed altar or statue base. Discovered in 1974, this was dedicated by a *sac(erdos)*] *Arae A*[*ugusti n(ostri)* to some *genius*, possibly that of the Daciae if the first two lines of the text, now erased, recorded a dedication to the *numen* of an emperor whose memory had been damned:[7]

> [*Numini Imp(eratoris Caes(aris) … | … et?*] | *Geni*[*o Daciar(um)*] | *P(ublius) Ael(ius) A*[*ntipater*] | *flame*[*n colon(iae)*] | *Apulen*[*sis sac(erdos)*] | *arae A*[*ugusti n(ostri)*] | *exs* (sic) *mu*[*neribus?*] | *donu*[*m dedit*].
>
> (*IDR* 3, 2, 217 = *AE*, 1978, 689)

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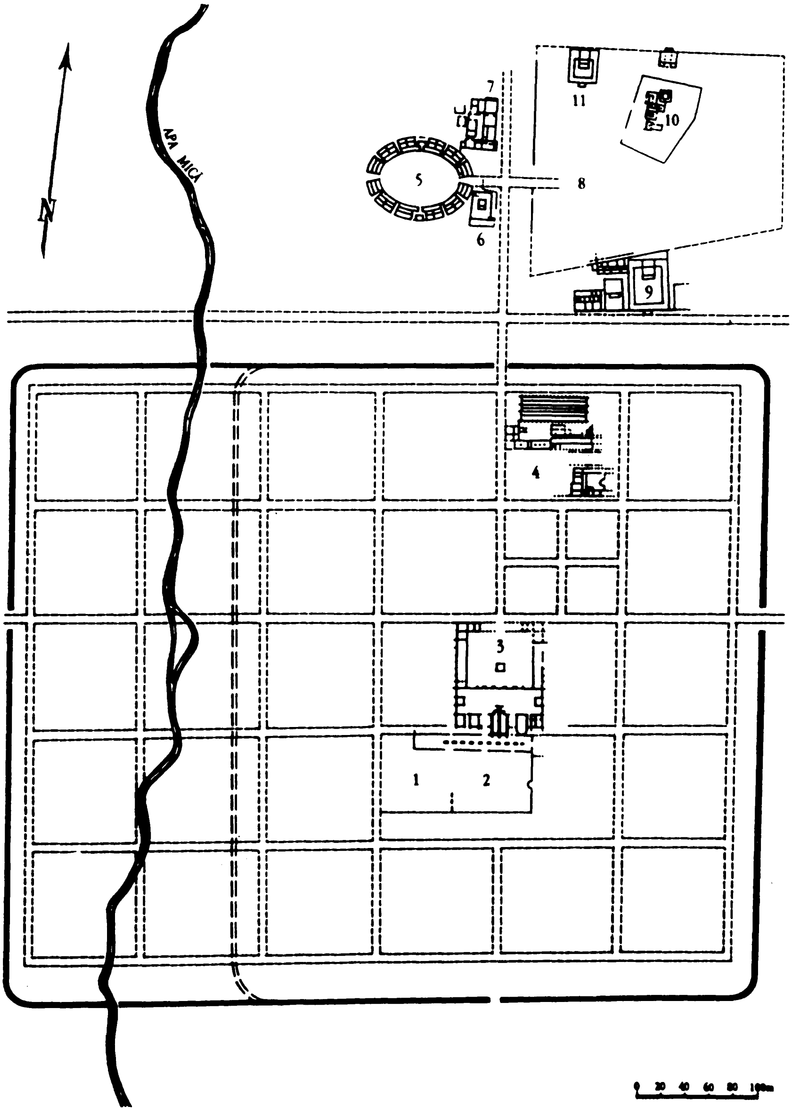
[5] Daicoviciu in *RE* Suppl. 14 (1974) 621–3, 648–50 with plan, 615–16. For a list of provincial priests of Dacia and epigraphical traces of the *concilium Daciarum Trium* see Vol. III, 2, 263–5; cf. Vol. III, 1, 176–7.

[6] Étienn–Piso–Diaconescu, Forums (1990) 280, n. 31, suggest that reference to a "third forum" of Sarmizegetusa would be appropriate.

[7] Daicoviciu–Piso (1977) 75–8 with discussion of the priest's family background.


N
APA MICĂ
1
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0 20 40 60 80 100m

Plate 126. General plan of Sarmizegetusa showing presumed federal zone of Tres Daciae. 1, 2. Complex of religious forum; 3. Civil forum; 4. *Domus procuratoris*; 5. Amphitheatre; 6. Temple of Nemesis; 7. *Schola gladiatorum* (?); 8. *Ara Augusti* and sector of federal cult; 9. "Grand temple"; 10. Asklepieion; 11. Temple of Liber Pater.

In light of this discovery and the proximity of the amphitheatre[8] it would appear far more likely that this outer zone served as the federal centre of Tres Daciae (Pl. 126). The possibility would be considerably strengthened if the penultimate line of the text is to be restored *exs mu[neribus]*, since P. Aelius Antipater will in that case have been fulfilling his official duties as chairman of the provincial council in donating the monument. Further support may be provided by a fragmentary marble inscription, found just north of the amphitheatre in 1964, the few surviving words of which record *vota publica* that closely recall the *votorum carmen* of the Acta Fratrum Arvalium. Similar texts discovered at Cyrene and Ptolemais probably reflect the vows and sacrifices that the provincial governor made *pro salute imperatoris* on 3rd January every year, but it has been suggested that in this case the Sarmizegetusa fragment text could have originated with the provincial council and reflect some extraordinary occasion rather than the annual *vota*.[9] In any event the location of the area bears some resemblance the plan at Camulodunum, where the provincial centre was established in a military annexe to the colony. A site outside the city would also correspond to the arrangement at Lugdunum, though we have seen that the federal centre of Tres Galliae was situated considerably further from the city of Lugdunum. Certainly the zone lies well away from the civic forum of the colony of Sarmizegetusa, so in this respect at least might be compared to the scheme at Tarraco or Narbo.

As for the structures which have been identified here, we have seen that an amphitheatre is commonly adjacent to a provincial centre, where it played an important role in the celebration of imperial festivals.[10] The nearby altar(?) donated by P. Aelius Antipater can hardly have been the *Ara Augusti* known from sacerdotal inscriptions as this will surely have been dedicated to the emperor himself, not to his *numen*(?). Probability nevertheless suggests that the provincial altar will have stood somewhere in the general vicinity. No other related structures are so far known; in particular there is nothing to indicate the existence of a provincial temple, though an unidentified "grand temple" once attributed the god Malagbel lies to the south.[11] The fact that the priestly inscriptions make no reference to a "Temple of the Three Daciae" tells *prima facie* against its possible existence; more fundamentally, so does the total absence of the cult of deified emperors.[12] In contrast other features of this presumed federal area display marked differences to similar centres elsewhere. Of especial note is the construction of temples to such divinities as Nemesis, Asclepius, Liber Pater *et al.* The first of these is clearly referable to the amphitheatre, where gladiators met their fate,[13] but the presence of temples of Asclepius or Liber Pater close by, if not actually within, the zone of Tres Daciae looks unparalleled elsewhere.[14] No doubt local circumstances, at present obscure, have contributed to the picture in this connection, though the term *coronatus* in particular, which appears in priestly titles from the early third century, clearly points to oriental influences within the provincial cult.[15] In any event it is worth recalling that the model set by the Palatium complex in Rome included temples of various deities, as did earlier Hellenistic palaces—that at Pergamum, for example.[16]

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[8] Golvin (1988) 129–30, no. 110 with refs., cf. 358, dating the structure to the early years of the colony.

[9] Vol. I, 2, 302, n. 8; Vol. II, 1, 498, n. 150; Vol. III, 1, 216, 231, citing Marghitan-Petolescu (1974); *eid.* (1976); Étienne–Piso–Diaconescu, Forums (1990) 280, n. 30. For the view that all three texts may be connected with some official cultic function of the provincial governor see Eck (1993) 154–5.

[10] Vol. II, 1, 580–2.

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[11] Étienne–Piso–Diaconescu, Forums (1990) 279–80, locate the altar dedicated to some *genius* between the 'grand temple' and the Asklepieion; cf. *eid.*, Propylées (1990) 94; Daicoviciu–Piso (1977) 75.

[12] Vol. III, 1, 209.

[13] Golvin (1988) 339; Le Glay (1990). See now Nogales Basarrate, Espectáculos (2000) 40, 87 and refs. with Lám XVA.

[14] Daicoviciu in *RE* Suppl. 14 (1974) 642–8.

[15] Vol. III, 2, 257, 264–5.

[16] Gros (1996) 234–5.

## CHAPTER NINE

# CARTHAGE

As the capital of Proconsularis, Carthage ought by all analogy to have been the centre of the provincial cult. The point is confirmed in any event by Apuleius, who refers to the city as the seat of the *concilium Africae* (*Flor.* 18, 15). Where exactly the provincial centre will have been situated is unknown. Comparison with Tarraco, Narbo Martius, Camulodunum or Sarmizegetusa might suggest a position towards the perimeter of the city or just outside; in this perspective the proximity of the amphitheatre, circus and bathing establishment of Bir el Djebbana on the western outskirts of Carthage (Pl. 127) points to a possible site in the vicinity.[1] No direct evidence in the form of archaeological remains has yet accrued here, however, so an alternative location within the city looks an equally attractive hypothesis. In a recent study of the administrative buildings of Carthage P. Gros has argued that with its two adjoining plazas, which form the forum on the esplanade of Byrsa Hill, the monumental and civic centre of Carthage seems to have been organised as a unitary complex, in which case the administrative organs of both the provincial administration and the provincial cult could have been located here.[2] More particularly, he tentatively suggests that the quadrangular structure on the western edge of the central space, hitherto taken for the public library mentioned by Apuleius (*Flor.* 18, 8–9), might in fact have served as the *tabularium provinciae* containing provincial archives—very much on the model of the *tabularium* at Tarraco, therefore (above, pp. 20, 33, 34). In that case the provincial cult of Proconsularis would have had its headquarters on an internal plaza of the city as to all appearances at Emerita and Corduba. Nothing so far has emerged to suggest the presence of a provincial temple but processions could well have wound their way down from the summit of Byrsa to the facilities for public entertainment on the edge of the city. What can be affirmed at a minimum, then, in the present state of our documentation, is that in Proconsularis as elsewhere the centre of the provincial cult was located at the capital of the province.

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[1] On the circus see Humphrey (1988) 1, 1–116 with plan, p. 8.

[2] Gros (1997) 341–50 with pl. 51.

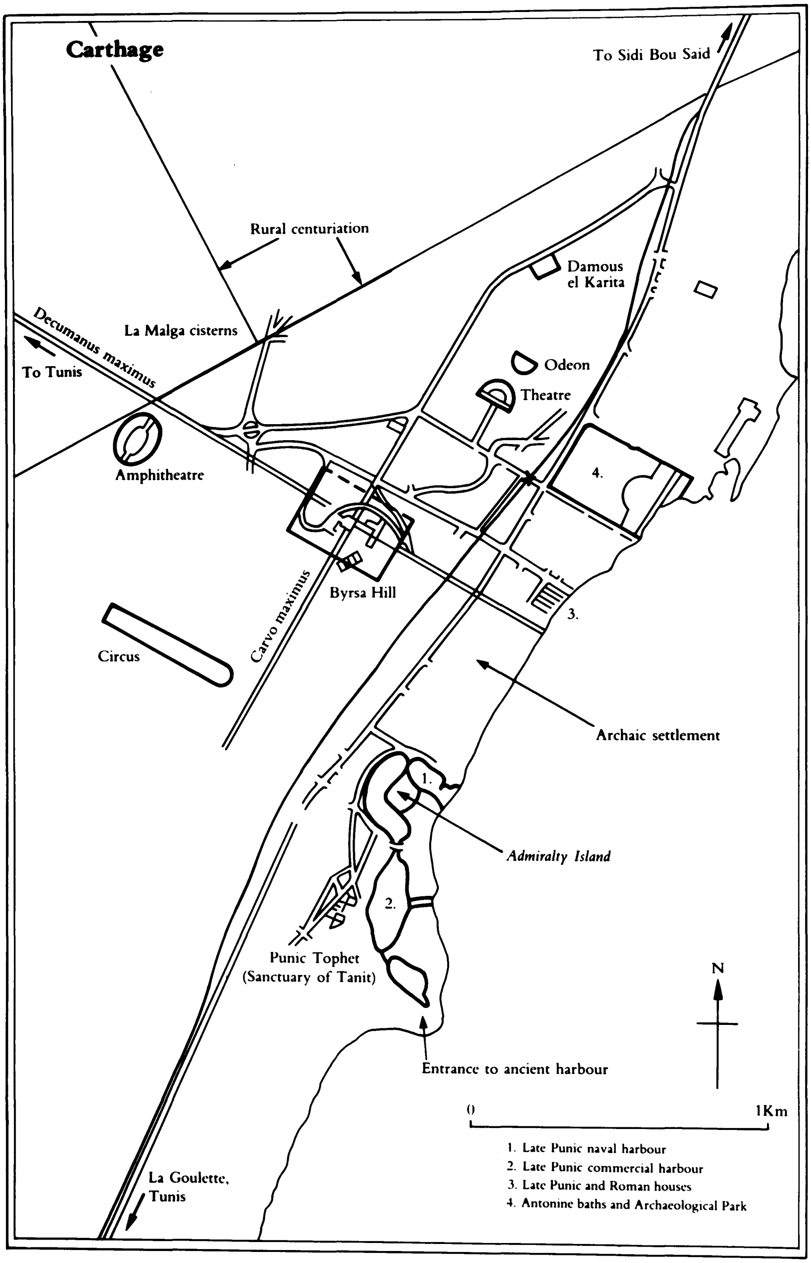
Carthage
To Sidi Bou Said
Rural centuriation
Damous el Karita
La Malga cisterns
Decumanus maximus
To Tunis
Odeon
Theatre
Amphitheatre
4.
Byrsa Hill
Carvo maximus
3.
Circus
Archaic settlement
1.
Admiralty Island
2.
Punic Tophet (Sanctuary of Tanit)
N
Entrance to ancient harbour
0
1Km
1. Late Punic naval harbour
2. Late Punic commercial harbour
3. Late Punic and Roman houses
4. Antonine baths and Archaeological Park
La Goulette, Tunis

Plate 127. Plan of Carthage illustrating proximity of amphitheatre, circus and bathing establishment of Bir el Djebbana on western outskirts of the city.

## CHAPTER TEN

# OTHER PROVINCIAL SITES

No other provincial enclave has so far been positively identified but inscriptions of provincial priests, sometimes in significant numbers, suggest that that the provincial worship and seat of the provincial council were similarly located at Syracusae (Sicily), Carales (Sardinia), Segusio (Alpes Cottiae), Cemenelum (Alpes Maritimae), Savaria (Upper Pannonia), presumably now Aquincum (Pannonia Inferior), and Caesarea (Mauretania Caesariensis). Whether Augusta Vindelicum served as the provincial centre of Raetia, Virunum as that of Noricum, Volubilis (rather than Tingi) of Mauretania Tingitana, Oescus (rather than Troesmis) of Lower Moesia, Viminacium (rather than Remesiana or Ulpianum) of Upper Moesia,[1] and Lambaesis of Numidia is quite uncertain.[2] On the other hand there is nothing to suggest a similar enclave at such regional centres as Ara Ubiorum (Cologne), Arae Flaviae (Rottweil), Arae Sestianae (north-west Spain), or comparable focal points among the Lingones, on the Elbe, at Scardona in southern Liburnia, or Doclea in south-east Dalmatia.[3] At the very least, however, the presence of amphitheatres in many of these cities suggests that the provincial area will have been located somewhere near.[4]

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[1] Fitz (1985) 260–2; Kos (1992) 209, 211–14.

[2] Deininger (1965) 12–14, 99–135.

[3] Vol. I, 1, 141–6; Maurin (1978) 200.

[4] See in particular Golvin (1988) nos. 15 (Segusium), 16 (Cemenelum), 51 (Virunum), 60, 111 (Lambaesis), 81 (Caesarea), 83 (Syracusae), 95, 174 (Carthago), 125, cf. 48, 124 (Aquincum); pp. 262–3 (Savaria).

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

# THE PROVINCIAL CENTRE

Tangible evidence for provincial centres is restricted to six, perhaps seven verifiable examples in the entire western empire. We have seen that the presence of similar facilities can nevertheless be reasonably inferred elsewhere, either from the evidence of inscriptions and the remains of amphitheatres, or by sheer analogy with the overall picture throughout the Latin west. While it is immediately clear that there existed no standard pattern, no set plan that was universally followed, various features emerge as common components of most known centres. These can now be conveniently summarized within the framework of three separate topics that collectively survey the general characteristics of provincial centres to the extent that these are presently understood.

## i. *A Permanent Headquarters*

The first point to insist on is that, in contrast to the practice of the Greek east, provincial centres in the Latin west provided a fixed base where ruler cult could be paid in one form or another in the name of the province and at which the *concilium provinciae* could hold its meetings. As such, the provincial enclave is in most known cases to be sharply distinguished from the civic forum of the provincial capital, where as a rule the centre was located. An important question of semantics arises in this connection. At Tarraco, for example, it has become standard practice in recent years to differentiate between the "provincial forum" on the middle terrace of the upper city and the "municipal forum" in the lower part of the colony and to draw a line of demarcation between their respective spheres of legal, administrative and religious competence. Not surprisingly, the separation between the two principal forums at Tarraco has been freely applied to other centres, notably Emerita and Corduba, where an analogous "provincial forum" and "municipal forum" have been identified on the basis of less conclusive epigraphical and archaeological evidence. It can fairly be said that to distinguish between the "provincial forum" and "municipal forum" is nowadays standard practice in contemporary scholarship on all three Spanish capitals.[1]

As W. Trillmich has recently demonstrated, however, there is no ancient authority whatsoever for the neologism "provincial forum", still less for its Latin rendition *forum provinciae Hispaniae citerioris*.[2] These terms serve simply as convenient labels by which modern commentators differentiate between the provincial centre and the civic. Even so it is difficult to see what harm the usage does, provided its total lack of ancient authority is kept in mind; similar instances of modern terminology for which there is no ancient equivalent are common enough and accepted without demur.[3] Far more important is Trillmich's consequent judgement that the very existence of a provincial forum at Tarraco, Emerita and Corduba in particular is an inference that lacks justification: "Creo poder demonstrar la inexistencia, en la antiguëdad, de foros 'provinciales' y 'municipales'… ".[4] What is needed as a first step, therefore, is to establish beyond all further question, even at the cost of overlap or repetition, that, while much of Trillmich's analysis provides a helpful corrective to some standard modern assumptions, outright rejection of the existence of provincial centres is unwarranted and that this is true not only of Hispania citerior, Lusitania and Baetica but also of provinces elsewhere in the west.

### a. Tarraco

Trillmich's opening argument is that the dubious circumstances of the epigraphic data at Tarraco have created a false impression. More particularly, he doubts the validity of inferring the existence of a provincial forum on the basis of the inscribed statue bases which the province of Hither Spain set up in honour of past provincial priests in the period from the early Flavian era down to the end of the second century: the location of these traces in the supposed enclave is very uncertain and could simply be an accident of survival or preservation which has produced a distorted picture. Direct evidence in support of this claim is nevertheless slight. A privately endowed honorific inscription of a *sevir magister Larum Augustalis* (*RIT* 418) was found in a house located in what is now taken to be the region of the provincial enclosure.[5] The stone attests a *sevir Augustalis* who served as *magister Larum*, an office connected with the cult of the emperor but in no way related to the provincial centre,[6] so it is just possible tht this inscription has found its way here from the lower city of Tarraco. Comparable examples are more ambivalent. J. Ruiz de Arbulo has argued that three stones attesting the term *forum* (*RIT* 349, 353–4) occur in the provincial enclosure for no apparent reason: in all likelihood, he suggests, they were originally placed in the lower municipal forum, from which they were subsequently removed—an argument rejected by G. Alföldy in a new analysis of the texts (above, pp. 34–5). In any event these are isolated records compared with the very numerous surviving pedestals that testify to provincial priests. In their case it is impossible to imagine that over thirty-three statue bases, mostly dedicated by the province of Hither Spain, all of the same material and size, all found on or close to the middle terrace, with another seven or eight more on the upper level, to which they may have been removed (above, p. 32), could appear in so circumscribed an area by sheer chance, or because they had been deliberately transferred there at some stage from another location. It is true that the major part of the colonial forum in the lower city is now known to lie beneath an area of dense habitation, south of what have proved to be the vestiges of the basilica,[7] and that the epigraphical record of the "municipal forum" can in consequence hardly be compared with that of the "provincial forum".[8] Even so, this state of affairs hardly impairs the model that G. Alföldy has imposed upon the data from the upper terraces. On the contrary, the sheer weight of numbers sustains the view that this concentration of epigraphical traces of provincial priests identifies the zone beyond further discussion as the provincial centre of Hither Spain.

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[1] Fishwick, Fiction (1994–5) 171.

[2] *Id.*, Fiktion (1993).

[3] Fishwick, *o.c.* 171 with n. 7 and examples.

[4] *Id.* (1996) 182.

From statistical data, the records of where the pedestals were found, Trillmich turns next to epigraphical anomalies that appear to conflict with the inferred distinction between a provincial and a colonial forum.

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[5] Trillmich, Fiktion (1993) 116.

[6] Vol. II, 1, 615.

[7] Vol. III, 1, 45, n. 24; Mar–Ruiz de Arbulo (1987) 32ff. with refs.; Cortés (1987) 13ff. with refs., especially 22–3. On the lower forum in general see the survey of recent research by Jiménez (1998); further Ruiz de Arbulo (1993) 94 with n. 4, stressing that the published version of Cortés' paper has been adapted in light of the original idea of Mar–Ruiz de Arbulo.

[8] Alföldy in *RE* Suppl. 15 (1978) 605, notes that not a single inscription set up by the province has so far come to light outside the boundaries of the provincial precinct.

The inscribed statue base of C. Valerius Arabinus, found within the provincial enclave at the same location as *RIT* 418 records that by universal agreement the provincial council of Hither Spain (*p. H. c.*) set his statue *inter flaminales viros* (*RIT* 333: above, p. 32, n. 97). We have seen that the formula implies a special *Aufstellungsort*—presumably on the middle terrace, where so many of the statue bases originally stood. Trillmich notes, however, that along with a full municipal career *in re p(ublica) sua* Arabinus had served as *sacerdos Romae et Augusti*, that is as priest of the *conventus*, not the province of Hispania citerior, so to place his statue *inter flaminales viros* would clearly conflict with Alföldy's picture of a forrest of statues to *provincial* priests. But surely this irregularity is entirely the point. The honour of a statue here for someone not a *flamen p.H.c.* was in recognition of his special services: *ob curam tabulari censualis fideliter administrat(am)*—evidently oversight of the archive where documents of the census were kept. All that the text shows, then, is that in addition to provincial priests others might receive a similar honour in appropriate circumstances. Far from undermining the case for a provincial precinct this exception simply confirms that the *Aufstellungsort* was not the exclusive preserve of *flamines provinciae Hispaniae citerioris*. In point of fact a whole range of deserving individuals other than provincial priests received statues here, their statues raised with or without the explicit consent of the council, which plainly had control over the region (above, pp. 32–3). So too did provincial priestesses. All of these examples plainly reinforce the reconstruction of Alföldy, according to which numerous honorific statues, conceivably in orderly rows, were set up in the provincial precinct at a special place reserved for distinguished provincials.

Most important of all, there is incontrovertible archaeological evidence that this was the provincial centre. As exploration of the region over the last decades has convincingly demonstrated, the three upper terraces to the north-east of colonial Tarraco were the site of a vast architectural complex (above, pp. 11–30).[9] With its vestiges of a temple placed within a *temenos* on the upper plateau, its connecting public plaza with fountains, possibly landscaped areas and an adjoining circus, the ensemble bears a distinct resemblance to the scheme at Ancyra (above, pp. 3–4). From the *temenos* a stairway leads to the middle terrace, an open plaza that can reasonably be called a forum despite the lack of direct epigraphical confirmation. To this can be added the vast and vastly expensive system of porticos enclosing the upper and middle terraces and connecting ultimately with a monumental stairway leading into the circus, a directly connected facility for mass entertaiment. All these are elements found at centres of the ruler cult elsewhere, particularly in the eastern provinces, so even in the total absence of any traces of provincial priests it would be a natural inference that the Tarraco enclave should be associated with the cult of the emperor. Traces of administrative buildings do not yet seem to be securely identified but we have epigraphical echoes of a registry, a treasury, an assembly place or, at least, seats, and the governor's headquarters (above, pp. 33–4). The case for identifying this enormous enclave as the permanent headquarters of the provincial council set in the shadow of the provincial temple must surely be considered overwhelmingly strong, then, if not closed.

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[9] Fishwick, Fiction (1995) 170–1, 174 with refs.

Trillmich's analysis nevertheless underlines an important point which now emerges more clearly than before.[10] The very fact that the husband of a priestess, a man's townsfolk or the local decurions of his town could set up a statue in what was evidently a place reserved for provincial luminaries clearly justifies the inference that the enclave was by no means exclusive, that there was no iron curtain between the provincial zone and the outside world. This gives a rather different slant to the overall picture, a less exclusive separation between provincial and municipal jurisdictions, one that corresponds in some respects to the situation, say, at the provincial sanctuary by Lugdunum, where statues of a priest—sometimes with members of his family on the same stylobate—could be set up by his own *civitas* (CIL 13, 1704, cf. 1700).[11]

### b. Emerita

Emerita Augusta, the capital of Lusitania, presents a radically different picture, as Trillmich rightly insists.[12] Whereas at both Tarraco and Lugdunum numerous records of provincial priest have been preserved, at Emerita only four provincial priests and one provincial priestess have left their traces, none of which attests any connection with a provincial council or a provincial centre; three texts are in fact funerary inscriptions (above, p. 44 with n. 12). This exiguous list can be paralleled at Narbo and Camulodunum, where the provincial enclave has likewise failed to produce a single record of priests. At Narbo an explanation can reasonably be sought in the circumstance that the site was overlain with modern housing before exploration could begin; provincial priests are certainly attested elsewhere in the province, one at Narbo itself.[13] In Britain, on the other hand, no inscription has so far come to light at Camulodunum or any other city of the province. Whether this is again attributable to the accident of survival or rather to the fact that statues in honour of past priests were thought ill-advised in the aftermath of Boudicca's revolt can hardly be said (above, pp. 146–7); a single reference to a provincial priest of Britannia could throw light on so many problems.

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[10] Fishwick, Fiction (1995) 174–5.

[11] Vol. III, 2, 23–4.

[12] *Id.* (1993) 117–22 with refs. For the background see Trillmich (1990); Ramírez (1983).

With nothing in the inscriptions of provincial priests to indicate the presence of a provincial centre at Emerita, Trillmich turns next to the colonial forum and notes that neither do any records of imperial priests originate from the plaza dominated by the "Temple of Diana", the municipal temple of the imperial cult (above, pp. 43 with n. 7). The same point holds for the *forum adiectum* that was constructed apparently under Claudius immediately to the north-east. Notable for its use of marble, this adjoining complex has recently been shown to copy the iconographic programme of the Forum Augustum—even including the inscription of the Aeneas group—and its identification and analysis mark a major advance in our understanding of the Roman colony (above, pp. 61–5). Trillmich therefore asks whether the theatre of Emerita rather than any of the three zones above might not have been the preferred location for erecting monuments to imperial priests. In support of this proposal he points in the first place to two epigraphical records that come from the premises of the town theatre: the inscribed facing of a statue honouring Cn. Cornelius [Cn. f. Pap.] Severus, *flamen Iuliae Augustae*[14] and a defective text that looks to attest a [*flamen? D*]*ivi Augusti*.[15] To these can now be added a Trajanic inscription that attests a cult place of the *Lares et imagines* located at the lower centre of the *ima cavea* (Pl. 92) and includes a reference to a *flamen? provi*]*nciae Lusit*[*aniae* (above, p. 46, 69).[16] That both the inscription and the monument to which it belonged were linked with the provincial cult of Lusitaniae looks a definite possibility. Trillmich leaves the matter there, simply noting that the two priests and the cult place of the *Lares et imagines* are all associated with the theatre, not that these statistics alone amount to a solid case. But P. Le Roux has recently taken the argument further in proposing that in the provinces of the Latin west provincial cults were not necessarily tied to particular sites at all. He speculates that a provincial council could meet in an amphitheatre or theatre chosen for the occasion rather than in a temple or basilica and suggests that religious festivals celebrating the emperor might take place at the capital of a province or wherever the governor happened to be domiciled for the moment.[17] On this view a version of the eastern neocorate will have operated in the western empire also.

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[13] Fishwick, Fiction (1995) 176. For a list of priests see Vol. III, 2, 183–5.

[14] *ILER* 1558; Trillmich (1993) 120–2 with fig. 4.

[15] Trillmich, *o.c.* 122–3 with fig. 5, citing (n. 23) García (1972/3) 230–1, no. 103.

[16] *AE* (1990) 515; Trillmich (1989/90).

Objections to all this arise on several issues. In the first place two of the records that come from the theatre look to be those of municipal priests, not provincial. This is patently true of Cn. Cornelius Severus, *flamen Iuliae Augustae*, whose statue was set up privately by *amici*. The fragment of a second text attests a [*flamen? D*]*ivi Augusti* but, if this were a provincial office, it should surely have been followed by *provinciae Lusitaniae*, no sign of which can be seen in the partially preserved blank line below. In contrast the find-spots of three inscriptions of provincial priests are unknown (*AE*, 1997, 777b; *ERAE* 62, 108), the funerary record of one provincial priest was found in the region of the necropolis of Emerita (*ERAE* 112), and that of the provincial priestess Helvia comes from the vicinity of the amphitheatre (*AE*, 1987, 396).[18] Simply on a statistical basis, therefore, it is difficult to see that the theatre was the preferred place to erect monuments of imperial priests—certainly not those of the province at any rate. The *sacrarium Larum et imaginum* is of great interest in its own right and may well be associated in some way with a provincial priest (above); more particularly, the permanent sanctuary of the *Lares et imagines* could have played a role in connection with processions on festival days when imperial images were carried from the provincial temple to the theatre.[19] Even so, there is not the slightest reason to suppose that the provincial *concilium* ever assembled in the theatre of Emerita—or that councils of other provinces met at a similar venue elsewhere in the western empire. On the contrary, while there is no evidence at Emerita comparable to the traces of reserved seats from the *curia* at Tarraco (above, p. 34), a puzzling structure in the putative provincial enclave at Emerita (below. p. 193), may match the basilica(?) in the lower forum of the British provincial centre at Camulodunum (above, p. 146).[20] If so, the standard view that a provincial council regularly met at a locale within a predetermined enclave would be strongly supported, if not confirmed, at Emerita also.

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[17] Le Roux (1994) 402–4; *contra* Edmondson (1997) 102, n. 51. Le Roux suggests (405) that under the Flavians, in contrast, a pre-eminent sanctuary was established or brought into prominence as the chief centre of the province.

[18] For a list of priests of Lusitania see Vol. III, 2, 151–3.

[19] See in general Vol. II, 1, 550ff., especially 552, 564–66.

On the basis of the foregoing discussion Trillmich concludes that "nicht den geringsten Anlass gibt, einen der drei monumentalen Plätze im Stadtgebiet zum "Foro provincial" oder 'Sitz der Provinzialverwaltung' zu erheben".[21] Nothing provincial is to be expected of course from the old forum by the Temple of Diana—not unless the province made use of the civic forum as at Corduba (below, pp. 197–8)—and, so far at least, nothing has appeared to link the adjoining Claudian "marble forum" with the provincial worship. That a provincial enclave existed somewhere in the city seems nevertheless to be implied by two key inscriptions, both found at Emerita. The first of these is a partially preserved dedication by the provincial *flamen* Albinus, son of Albuus, to Divus Augustus and Diva Augusta (*AE*, 1997, 777b); apertures in the upper surface of the stone recording the text strongly suggest that in these openings were originally secured busts or statues of both imperial figures (above, p. 43). The second text records that probably in late A.D. 77 the province dedicated to Titus a gold object of five pounds weight—evidently a bust—in the presence of the propraetorian legate of Lusitania and the provincial priest Ṃ. Iunius Latro (*CIL* 2, 5264; above, *ibid.*). Like the busts of Divus Augustus and Diva Augusta, this too must have been intended for transportation in solemn procession on festival days. The immediate point here is that such ritual objects were housed as a rule in the *pronaos* of a temple, which must in this case have been the provincial temple—very possibly the tetrastyle edifice illustrated on coins of Emerita struck early under Tiberius (above, pp. 41–3). Whatever the validity of that identification, both these epigraphical texts appear to document indirectly the existence at Emerita of a structure that would have been the central feature of a provincial enclave.

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[20] For possible trace of a similar *curia* at Lugdunum see Audin–Reynaud (1977–81) = *AE* (1980) 634; cf. Vol. I, 1, 136.

[21] Trillmich (1993) 122. Cf. *id.* (1995) 271–2: "Gänzlich ohne Anhalt ist im übrigen die bereits gängige Differenzierung der Plätze nach Gesichtspunkten administrativer und kultischer 'Zuständigkeiten', wonach das zentrale Forum als "foro municipal" oder "foro colonial" bezeichnet wird, das nördliche als "foro provincial"."

As for the possible location of a provincial centre at Emerita, we have already seen that epigraphical, archaeological and iconographical evidence points collectively to a public zone in the area by the plaza del Parador Nacional de Turismo and the Cerro del Calvario (above, pp. 47–51). In addition an old ground plan of A. L. J. de Laborde shows remnants of a rectangular edifice by the hermitage of "El Calvario", to all appearancies an octostyle, peripteral building fronted by four rows of columns, its principal room apparently divided into three naves by two sets of columns and ending in a central, semi-circular apse. Interpretations of Laborde's uncertain sketch have ranged from a temple of Jupiter or Mars to a basilica but look to have settled in favour of a basilica-like structure that stood in an area with other public buildings. As this is far enough away from the central forum to exclude any possible municipal affiliation, it may be tentatively suggested that Laborde's sketch could show vestiges of the *curia* where the provincial council of Lusitania held its meetings, in which case there would be a close analogy with the basilica(?) in the lower forum of the provincial sanctuary at Camulodunum.

Most striking of all, the view of M. Almagro Basch that these combined traces may indicate a provincial enclosure in the north-east region of the city is strongly supported not only by numerous minor relics but above all by the remains of a temple *podium* at nos. 35/37 Calle Holguín (above, pp. 52–8). Only part of this has so far been disengaged from adjacent buildings but of relevance for present purposes is the size of the structure, particularly its huge marble columns, and the fact that its proportions suggest a pseudperipteral plan with a transverse *cella*, as may have been likewise the case with the temple of the Three Gauls. Like the edifice portrayed on coins issued at Emerita, the temple was tetrastyle (above, pp. 52, 61). No inscription has yet appeared to identify cultic function but recent study of its architectonic decoration indicates construction in the late Augustan/Tiberian period, a date that tells against the possibility it could be a Capitolium in particular (above, p. 52). The temple, which was evidently larger than the "Temple of Diana", apparently stood at the centre of a precinct bordered by a portico, vestiges of which survive, and was approached by a stairway—perhaps interrupted by a platform—which ran from the so-called Arco de Trajano to the very gates of the temple. This monumental arch gives every indication, therefore, of being the entrance to a special precinct, a situation closely paralleled at Narbo and Camulodunum. However, it should be noted that neither here nor in the civic forum before the "Temple of Diana" is there any trace of *clipei* with the heads of Jupiter or Medusa as found at Tarraco. At Emerita this type of decoration along with caryatids is a notable feature of the Claudian *forum adiectum*, to which it seems on present evidence to be restricted.

In contrast, then, to Trillmich's claim, there does seem to be tangible, if not yet conclusive, support for the possible existence of a provincial centre at Emerita—this despite the lack of epigraphic evidence for the presence of provincial priests on the model of the numerous traces at Tarraco. We have seen that their total absence at Emerita may be explained by lack of recovery or simply by the fact that the provincial council of Lusitania did not adopt a practice conspicuously in evidence at Lugdunum, Tarraco and Corduba.[22] The contribution of Trillmich's analysis nevertheless emerges in a major difference the author has identified at Emerita. Quite clearly, the provincial sector here, if correctly inferred, was entirely different from that at Tarraco, where a special precinct was built in an area some distance from the city centre. At Emerita in contrast the fact that the *cardo maximus* runs immediately up to the "Arco di Trajano" and then extends beyond the far side of the supposed forum suggests that this area was part of the original plan of the city (above, pp. 58–60). One cannot therefore simply transfer the plan at Tarraco to other centres. At Emerita things look to have been very different in so far as an *existing* sector of the city must have been adapted to provincial uses. This brings out a key point repeated in turn at Corduba, the capital of Baetica.

### c. Corduba

Any attempt to identify a provincial centre at Corduba faces the immediate dificulty that the city possessed *two* main civic plazas: the so-called "principal forum" within the *vicus forensis*, now identified in the centre of the modern city at the intersection of calle Cruz Conde and calle Gongóra, and a "secondary" forum within the *vicus hispanus* located to the south in the zone of calles Jesús y Maria and Angel de Saavedra. The historical background to the evolution of both these forums and the urban wards or quarters at the core of which they were situated has been sketched in outline earlier (pp. 71–4). To complicate the picture a third plaza adjacent to the south side of the colonial forum has recently been uncovered in the zone of Calle Morería, where its defining feature is an architectural scheme that evidently replicated the Forum Augustum (above, pp. 79–83). The centrepiece of this was a gigantic temple modelled on the temple of Mars Ultor and flanked by a portico, along the interior of which ran niches evidently intended to house statues.

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[22] Vol. III, 1, 169.

A preliminary question concerns the location of the municipal cult of Emerita. This can hardly have been the "new forum" if for no other reason than that a municipal temple, for example the so-called "Temple of Diana" at Emerita, is usually situated on the central forum of a city, not a *forum adiectum*. Comparison with other centres might suggest the central forum as the more appropriate but, so far at least, the site has yielded no archaeological or epigraphical data relating to any sort of temple or its associated cult. What has recently been recognized, however, is that two fragmentary Claudian statues, originating from a public building in the vicinity, represent Divus Augustus in the guise of Jupiter enthroned and Diva Augusta as Ceres or Juno (above, pp. 77–8). Very possibly these stood in some sort of cult place in the region, perhaps an Augusteum of some sort, given the absence of a municipal temple.

Below the southern plaza in contrast have been found, in addition to several inscriptions, portraits representing Tiberius and Livia, though apparently these occur outside an attributable context; the origin of a further head representing Caligula is uncertain (above, pp. 84–5). Such traces of Julio-Claudian members of the *domus imperatoria*—conceivably housed likewise in an Augusteum?—have lead A. U. Stylow to conclude that the lower site will rather have been the focus of civic worship. Yet in view of the new evidence from the north forum there seems good reason to infer that this plaza too was used at least originally as the site of the municipal cult. That both areas were of equal standing is clearly indicated by the two inscribed pedestals honouring L. Axius Naso, one of which was found on each forum (*CIL* 2$^2$/7, 272–3). If it was appropriate to erect a statue to him at *both* sites, it would be strange indeed if the central forum was entirely excluded from the municipal cult—particularly so when both forums later served the provincial cult of Baetica (below, pp. 196–8). The possibility arises therefore that, in consequence of the early history of the town, two plazas—one in the *vicus forensis*, the other in the *vicus hispanus*—jointly served the municipal cult down to the end of the Julio-Claudian period, or at least down to the time when the temple in Calle Claudio Marcelo was dedicated.

This reconstruction is complicated by the extant vestiges of a great marble temple located at the conjunction of calles Claudio Marcelo and Capitulares (above, pp. 90–8; Pl. 101). Archaeological exploration has now shown that this imposing structure was situated partly outside the city walls and that the proportions of the *podium*, its hexastyle pseudoperipteral facade, and its precinct enclosed on three sides by a triple portico closely copy the features of the Maison Carée at Nimes, the prime example of a civic dynastic temple. The affiliation of the Corduba temple has not yet been revealed by an inscription nor can anything definite be concluded from the archaeological remains in themselves, but its dating or at any rate the beginning of construction, long disputed and once thought to be early Flavian, has now been revealed as Claudian by soundings undertaken by J. L. Jiménez Salvador in the fill of the *cella* foundation. Given that the provincial cult of Baetica looks to be Flavian in institution, most probably Vespasianic, the edifice in the calle Claudio Marcelo could well be the temple of the municipal imperial cult. The further possibility now arises that it was adjacent on the east side to the (first) circus of Corduba, which will therefore have been ideally situated for staging races on imperial occasions—not that this circumstance tells decisively for the character of the temple. Why the structure should in that case have been placed where it is escapes our knowledge. Jiménez points out that the closest parallel is the temple of Hercules at Tibur, which likewise stands immediately before the entrance to the city. At both Corduba and Tibur a temple so positioned will have dominated the view of the city from afar, so the site may well have been chosen at least in part for its scenic effect. What is at all events self-evident is that the temple in Calle Claudio Marcelo is near neither of the two civic forums. The question arises therefore whether its location could be a compromise, hit upon to avoid contentious discrimination between the two city plazas as the site of the municipal temple.

The above considerations bear directly on the whereabouts of the provincial centre at Corduba. Whereas A. Marcos Pous and A. M. Vicent Zaragoza take the "principal" forum at the city centre to have been appropriated for this purpose, Stylow has recently argued in favour of a Flavian adaptation of the south plaza by Calles Jesús y Maria and Angel de Saavedra. The basis of either view is first and foremost the location and proliferation of statue pedestals set up to provincial priests. In favour of the southern forum as the provincial site are four memorials to provincial priests (above, pp. 87–8). Two of these

(*CIL* $2^2$/7, 291: A.D. 152; 295: A.D. 216) were set up by the provincial council, two others (*CIL* $2^2$/7, 292: late second/early third century; 297: early third century) by the priest's son *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*—clear indication that, while the *concilium provinciae* might have use of the site, control over the erection of private monuments remained in the hands of the *ordo decurionum*. In addition there are architectonic remains, two sections of an architrave of great size and a tantalizing trace in the form of a colossal capital of a pillar now entombed beneath concrete (above, pp. 88–9). In light of its vicinity to the plaza Stylow takes this to be a remnant of the provincial temple and enlists its presence in support of his identification of the zone as the site of the provincial centre. If he is right and the capital does not belong to some other public building, the edifice by the lower forum will have been as striking a sight as the temple in the Calle Claudio Marcelo. No other buildings recognizably appropriate to a provincial centre have so far been identified but an apparently public edifice, incoporating elements of the pavement along with fragments of columns and capitals, was constructed in the region at the beginning of the third century. What this structure was and whether the temple had been pulled down or altered in some way can hardly be said.

On the central forum in contrast four statues were dedicated to provincial priests: one by the provincial council (*CIL* $2^2$/7, 293: A.D. 191), two by the city of Corduba (*CIL* $2^2$/7, 282: early second century; 296: late second/early third century), and a fourth by the *ordo* of Malaca, the original *patria* of a provincial *flamen* who had been adopted into the community of Colonia Patricia (*AE*, 1996, 883: Severan). In addition a provincial *flamen* and benefactor set up the *mensula* of what must have been a statue of Dea Colonia Patricia (*CIL* $2^2$/7, 221: Severan), and the province of Baetica dedicated a pedestal of Philippus Arabs in accordance with the decree of the *concilium* (*CIL* $2^2$/7, 255: A.D. 245). If a companion statue of his son Philippus II was set up on the south forum (*CIL* $2^2$/7, 256: A.D. 244–9), the two together would recall the twin inscriptions of L. Axius Naso, a copy of which was likewise set up on both forums (above, pp. 76, 83–5). Lastly, the province also set up on the central forum a statue honouring Salonina (*CIL* $2^2$/7, 258), wife of Gallienus (A.D. 253–68).

To all appearances, then, the province used both forums at various times, just as both may have earlier served the civic cult. As the record now stands, the south plaza acted as the provincial forum from the origins of the provincial cult under Vespasian down to the latter part of the second century.[23] At this stage the central forum came also into use and both zones were in provincial service down to the middle of the third century. At some subsequent stage the lower plaza appears to have lost its provincial role altogether, as suggested by the circumstance that provincial governors set up statues on the central forum early in the fourth century (above, pp. 79, 100, 101). Whether in the meantime the central plaza still functioned for provincial purposes is not revealed by the evidence. What one finds at Corduba, therefore, is a unique situation, doubtless conditioned by the formative years of the colony, in which *two* civic plazas appear to have been used first for municipal cult, later for provincial. Unparalleled as this developent is, it is nevertheless clear that the provincial cult of Baetica was based on a permanent headquarters at Corduba. Nothing in the evidence gives any hint that the provincial council held its meetings elsewhere than at the provincial capital.

### d. Other centres

It remains to labour the self-evident point that in other western provinces the provincial cult was likewise headquartered at a permanent location, situated in most cases at the capital city of the province. In Gallia Comata the nodal point of what began as a supra-regional cult was the famous altar, the principal features of which are illustrated on contemporary coins. Close to this monument was erected first an amphitheatre, construction of which commenced late under Augustus or early under Tiberius, then a century or so later an adjoining temple apparently begun under Hadrian. There can be no question, then, that in Tres Galliae, as the region is termed from the time of Vespasian, the federal cult centred on a fixed site which, as at Tarraco, quickly became a forrest of statues raised in honour of federal priests and other functionaries. Of the total number of over forty records of *sacerdotes Trium Galliarum* roughly a score refer explicitly in one way or another to the altar or the temple, while about a dozen specifically place either monument at the confluence of the Rhone and the Saône.[24] It is true that the provincial council occasionally erected an individual statue to a past provincial priest in his own *civitas* and that delegates of the *concilium* participated in the *inferiae* of Drusus and Germanicus celebrated at Mainz,[25] but in none of these cases is there any question of the council holding a full reunion. These were regularly held annually, also intermittently as occasion required, at the permanent headquarters of the cult in the *pagus Condatensis* by Lugdunum.

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[23] The only inscription that breaks this pattern is the equestrian statue base of the provincial *flamen* Iulius Gallus Mummianus dedicated by the city of Corduba on the central forum early in the second century (*CIL* $2^2/7$, 282).

[24] For a list of priests of Tres Galliae see Vol. III, 2, 60–8.

At Narbo Martius, the capital of Narbonese Gaul, we have only one provincial *flamen* documented locally[26] and no surviving illustration of provincial monuments, but the fact of their existence on the edge of the city is certainly confirmed by the archaeological record (above, pp. 130–3). Barely prospected before the site was lost to archaeological exploration, an amphitheatre comparable to those at Arles and Nîmes is nevertheless known in outline and adjacent to this an enclave marked by a huge columned portico, approximately 160m by 110m in extent. Quite clearly this structure enclosed a vast complex comprising numerous monuments faced with reliefs, paved rooms, and a swimming pool that has produced in addition to iconographic fragments a partially preserved bronze tablet recording the rights and duties of the provincial *flamen*. As these regulations make clear, the precinct must have included a temple, precisely as at other provincial centres, so with nothing to suggest a venue elsewhere in the province[27] there can be no question that here, on the edge of the Roman city, was the site of the provincial centre of Gallia Narbonensis, the permanent headquarters of the *concilium provinciae*.[28]

Again, at Camulodunum archaeological vestiges are our main source of information apart from passing references in some vexed passages of Tacitus and Seneca (above, pp. 135–48). Neither at Camulodunum nor elsewhere in Britannia are there extant traces of provincial priests but the main features of what can only be the provincial centre in the eastern sector of the city are reasonably clear. In contrast to the image of the Altar of Tres Galliae on coins issued at Lugdunum, the actual *podium* of an octostyle temple is still in existence beneath the keep of the

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[25] Vol. III, 2, 24 with n. 29, 45 with n. 116.

[26] For a list of provincial priests of Gallia Narbonensis see Vol. III, 2, 183–5.

[27] The possibility is excluded *inter alia* by various provisions of the *lex de flamonio provinciae Narbonensis*, which fix the seat of the provincial cult of Gallia Narbonensis firmly at Narbo.

[28] Le Roux (1994) 410, n. 55, rejects the existence of a provincial enclave at Narbo despite the evidence analyzed by Gayraud (1981) 384ff.

Norman castle at Colchester. Furthermore sufficient tangible remains survive to reveal the outlines of an enclosure that was uniquely divided into two unequal parts by the *decumanus maximus*. Whereas the larger, upper half of this was the site of a large *temenos* that skirted the temple, the lower forum may well have served as the premises of the provincial council. At all events there is no cause to doubt that the provincial cult of Britannia centred on a permanent site that enclosed both a temple and possibly the *curia* of the *concilium* as well as a nearby theatre (below, p. 210).

Lastly, at Sarmizegetusa the provincial centre of Tres Daciae appears to have been located in an zone immediately outside the colony in the vicinity of the amphitheatre (above, pp. 174–7). Close to this must have stood the *Ara Augusti* attested by priestly inscriptions.[29] While its exact location remains uncertain, there can be no doubt that this monument served as the fixed nucleus of the federal cult. Elsewhere in the west the precise location of similar centres is unknown, but in the Danube region records of the provincial priests of Upper and Lower Pannonia refer to a central altar of the living emperor.[30] Whether a similar monument served the same purpose in Lower Moesia is not made clear by the two surviving records;[31] in Upper Moesia evidence has failed to survive. In most other provinces we have only sundry records of provincial priests and the remains of amphitheatres (above, p. 183), though all analogy points to the existence of similar provincial centres, but in Africa Proconsularis Apuleius states explicitly that the provincial cult was seated at Carthage (above, pp. 179–80). Whether its premises have left their traces on the summit of Byrsa Hill remains to be confirmed, yet here again a fixed provincial site must be inferred, despite the fact that as in Tres Galliae the provincial council itself occasionally erected a statue locally.[32]

The conclusion to be drawn, therefore, is that it would be illegitimate to infer that no ancient facilities—whether in Spain or elsewhere in the western empire—corresponded to the modern neologisms "provincial forum" or *forum provinciae*. Nothing goes to show that provincial *concilia* were itinerant organizations without permanent headquarters but meeting, say, in amphitheatres or theatres at whatever city happened to be the provincial governor's temporary residence. The contribution of Trillmich's paper clearly emerges nonetheless. As he rightly emphasizes, linear transfer to other centres of the arrangements seen at their clearest in the Tarraco enclave is out of the question. In contrast to this vast enclosure built *ad hoc*, an existing plaza of Emerita may have been adapted for purposes of the province of Lusitania, while at Corduba two such existing forums look to have been similarly utilized to varying degrees by the province of Baetica. Physical traces of a provincial enclave are tenuous to vanishing point at Corduba, where conversely epigraphic evidence for the activities of both the provincial council and outsiders is far richer than at Emerita. Here again, it should be stressed, Trillmich's paper successfully demonstrates that there was no rigid division between a provincial enclave and the outside world. Certainly present evidence continues to puzzle in ways that only future epigraphical and archaeological discoveries could hope to clarify. Yet the way out of the dilemma that Trillmich encounters is not to reject the existence of provincial centres as a figment of the imagination but to appreciate that no standard model applied to all provinces alike. On the contrary, each capital city of Spain worked out its own arrangements for accomodating the provincial cult of the emperor. The same is patently true of other provinces of the Latin west in which similar centres have been identified or can plausibly be inferred, more particularly those at Lugdunum, Narbo, Camulodunum and Sarmizegetusa.

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[29] For priests of Dacia see Vol. III, 2, 263–5.
[30] Vol. III, 2, 268–71, 273–4, 277, 283.
[31] Vol. III, 2, 288.
[32] Vol. III, 2, 199.

## ii. *Location and Design*

### a. Location

The focal point of provincial ruler worship was a permanent headquarters at which the council of every western province met at least once a year—usually, it would appear, in mid to late summer.[33] As a rule, the place of reunion coincided with the residence of the Roman governor.[34] This is certainly the case with Tarraco, Emerita, Corduba, Narbo Martius, Camulodunum, Sarmizegetusa and Carthage—the very rank of the provincial capital as the site of the governor's headquarters supports the role of the city as the location of the provincial cult and seat of the provincial council.[35] Epigraphical traces and the proximity of amphitheatres point to the possible existence of similar sites at other provincial capitals, though in Upper Pannonia the centre was apparently at Savaria rather than Carnuntum, in Dalmatia at Doclea rather than Salona.[36] Lugdunum deviates from the general pattern in that federal meetings were held upstream in the *pagus Condatensis*, well away from the city itself. This circumstance in particular graphically illustrates a feature true of all provincial centres, the fundamental separation of the provincial *concilium* and its sphere of activities from that of the Roman authorities charged with administering the province.

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[33] Vol. III, 2, 301.

[34] Deininger (1965) 143–4, noting that in the Greek east, in contrast, provincial *koina* might meet at several cities of a province, as in Asia, Bithynia, Galacia, Cilicia and especially Lycia.

Where precisely such provincial premisses should be located at a city evidently produced different solutions. The commonest practice, at least among known provincial centres, was for an enclave to be reserved on the perimeter of the settlement. Thus at Tarraco the three upper terraces that form a sort of acropolis north-west of the city centre were occupied by an upper *temenos* enclosing the provincial temple, an adjoining middle forum that evidently catered to the administrative requirements of the province, and a connected circus for entertainment (above, pp. 7–30). Here, well removed from the city centre, the precinct stood on ground that originally lay outside the old city and had been the site of military installations. A somewhat similar scheme seems to have been followed at Camulodunum, where the east-west *decumanus maximus* divides an upper court enclosing the provincial temple from a smaller lower forum that again was presumably the seat of the provincial council and the hub of administrative activity. In this instance the provincial centre lay in the eastern part of the town, on the border of the colony, where it ocupied an annexe to the Claudian fortress, an area apparently set aside for religious purposes when the colony was superimposed on the western sector in A.D. 48. Strictly speaking, therefore, the precinct might be considered to lie outside the city, as Camulodunum was not defined by defensive walls (above, p. 137). Whether a similar scheme was followed at Narbo Martius is entirely uncertain but the very size of the enclosure and the implied presence of a temple, even if its precise whereabouts are unknown, certainly points in that diretion. The location of the centre on the fringe of the town is at all events consistent with the prior spread of housing across the area between here and the city centre (above, p. 133). If the provincial centre of Africa Proconsularis lay somewhere in the vicinity of the amphitheatre, circus and baths on the western outskirts of Carthage, it too would presumably have been situated on the edge of the settlement (above, p. 179).

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[35] Le Roux (1994) 403, asks why some capitals were left out of celebrations—that is, annual provincial gatherings. The answer is that none are in the pre-Flavian period, except in Tres Galliae, where a federal centre by Lugdunum served all three provinces.

[36] Fitz (1985) 262, argues that in the Danube provinces the *concilium provinciae* nowhere had its seat at the headquarters of the provincial governor. Gorsium at least no longer fits this generalization in light of the re-interpretation of the cultic complex excavated at Tác. See above, pp. 149–72.

Elsewhere local conditions plainly dictated a different arrangement. At Emerita evidence is still circumstantial and confirmation depends upon archaeological exploration currently in progress but, while records of provincial priests are strikingly absent, sundry epigraphical, archaeological and iconographical testimony points to a zone reserved for public purposes in the north-west sector of the city now occupied by the Plaza del Parador Nacional de Turismo and the Cerro del Calvario (above, pp. 47–61). If this proves to have been the provincial centre, then in this case an *existing* plaza of the city will have been adapted for provincial needs in contrast to the construction of a specially designed enclosure as at Tarraco and Camulodunum. The same point holds for Corduba except that here the province apparently made use of *two* existing plazas, the central civic plaza by the intersection of calle Cruz Conde and calle Góngora in the *vicus forensis*, and the lower forum in the region of calles Jesús y María and Ángel de Saavedra in the *vicus hispanus* (above, pp. 98–101). We have seen that this development is probably an accident of the earlier history of the colony. At all events no parallel exists for such an arrangement, not at least at any city where the provincial centre has presently been identified. It might be noted that the use of a single forum already in existence within the city would be matched on the Byrsa Hill at Carthage if P. Gros is right in locating provincial structures here rather than on the fringe of the colony.

Lastly, in some instances the provincial centre is located outside a city. The prime example, of course, is at Lugdunum where the sanctuary on the south slope of Croix-Rousse served the combined cult of the three administrative divisions of what had originally been Gallia Comata (above, pp. 106–7). In this instance a pre-existing separate district, associated with a grove at the confluence of two rivers and appparently already in use for religious purposes, was adapted to serve the joint cult of Tres Galliae. The fact that this was a federal worship goes far to explaining why it was centred here, a kilometre or so from Lugdunum, rather that within the boundaries of the city itself.

At Sarmizegetusa, in contrast, the situation is less clear. Here a zone just beyond the city walls seems to have served as the provincial centre (above, pp. 174–7). Whether a location outside rather than inside the city is similarly to be explained by the fact that it was the focal point of a federal cult remains to be established. Considerations of this kind could well have come into play, though we have seen that the tripartite division of Dacia was never as sharply defined as that of Gallia Comata with its three administrative units of Lugdunensis, Aquitania and Belgica.[37]

### b. Design

The nucleus of every provincial centre was an altar or temple that served as the focal point of provincial worship. The earliest known monument of this kind is the altar within the *pagus Condatensis*, its iconography and attendant Victories familiar from coins issued by the local imperial mint.[38] The altar itself has long since disappeared but, if the current conception of its whereabouts is correct, this was established on the level summit of a promontory that sloped away on either side before the face of a steep hillside. The location takes advantage, therefore, of a unique natural feature that enabled the altar to be seen from far and wide and is a setting repeated at no other site (above, p. 108). In contrast the precise location of the altar in the federal zone just outside the city limits of Sarmizegetusa is unknown though its presence is confirmed by the titles of provincial priests as is the existence of provincial altars in Upper and Lower Pannonia (Vol. III, 2, 263–9, 273–4, 282–3). We have seen that at Camulodunum the early provincial cult of Britannia may likewise have centred on a large altar, apparently flanked by Victory statues, that stood some distance from the flight of steps before the later provincial temple (pp. 142–5).

The more usual provincial monument, one found sooner or later at all centres outside the Danube provinces, is a temple. At Tarraco a representation of its projected form on local *dupondii* shows an octostyle edifice plainly modelled on the temple of Mars Ultor at Rome and now known to have been the centre-piece of an architectural design that replicated the Forum Augustum (above, pp. 5–7). Vestiges of the temple itself are nevertheless limited to sundry architectonic pieces that have surfaced over the years and even the precise location of the temple is debatable. All that is certain is that the design is of Tiberian date whereas construction seems not to have been completed until the Flavian period (above, pp. 22–30). Similarly at Emerita early Tiberian local coins that plainly borrow from the Tarraco issues illustrate what can only be the provincial temple, whether projected or already under construction, but in this case with four columns instead of eight (above, pp. 41–3). Should this turn out to be the tetrastyle temple now in the process of disengagement from neighbouring housing in Calle Holguín at Mérida, we would have an extant provincial monument, one sufficiently well preserved to reveal significant details of its original features. Otherwise the only certain vestige of a provincial temple is the *podium* of a classical temple now lying beneath Colchester castle. Evidently this originally supported an octostyle temple as at Tarraco, peripteral on three sides with its back possibly closed by a wall (above, pp. 139–42). No further trace of a provincial structure survives unless one can include the fragmentary architrave and colossal marble capital entombed by the lower forum at Corduba (above, p. 88), but at Narbo the *lex de flamonio provinciae Narbonensis* confirms the existence of a temple that must have stood in the great enclosure on the fringe of the city, while at Lugdunum inscriptions refer to a temple adjacent to the federal altar from about the time of Hadrian.

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[37] Vol. III, 1, 174–5.

[38] Vol. I, 1, 102–30.

Whereas traces of a separate area around a possible provincial altar survive only at Camulodunum, the precincts that enclosed the provincial temples at Tarraco and Camulodunum are relatively well known. At Tarraco in particular the upper terrace of the provincial enclosure, nowadays prospected in considerable detail, was the site of an *area sacra* more that two hectares in area and surounded on at least three sides by a portico. On the likeliest view the temple itself will have stood at the centre of the rear wall, from which it projected outwards on the lines of the municipal temple at Aventicum; at all events there is a significant modification in the system of columns at the centre back, where the entrance to the temple *cella* may have stood (above, pp. 18–22). At Camulodunum in contrast the temple and altar before it was positioned on the central axis and protruded forwards into the upper court. The plan of the *temenos* itself differed also from that at Tarraco in so far as the precinct contained buildings and was enclosed to the south by a wall screening the main east-west road of the colony; inside the wall ran an arcade, while three sides of the temple court appear to have been bordered by an open portico with some enclosed rooms (above, pp. 138–45). Traces at Emerita are too little known as yet to give a general picture but an entrance to a similar confined area appears to have been provided by the so-called Arco de Traiano, below which the remains of a monumental staircase, probably broken by a platform, have been identified. The temple itself was located at the highest point of the zone and adjoined by a portico (above, pp. 48–61). All analogy suggests that a broadly similar plan will have been followed in the enclosure beside the amphitheatre at Narbo Martius, where vestiges of rooms and a swimming pool were observed before the site disappeared (above, pp. 130–3). In contrast at Corduba the province seems simply to have made use of the two existing forums in the *vicus forensis* and the *vicus hispanus* (above. pp. 98–101). Aside from the possible construction of nearby buildings, neither plaza looks to have undergone significant material adaptation.

Two oddities in this general picture call for mention. Whereas the temples at Tarraco and Camulodunum, presumably also at Narbo, conform to the normal classical configuration, the proportions of the temple in Calle Holguín at Mérida rather suggest a pseudo-peripteral plan with transverse *cella* (above, p. 52). Precisely the same scheme was earlier attributed by A. Audin to the federal temple by Lugdunum, where narrowness of space at the conjectured site would in practice exclude any other design if the temple stood immediately behind the altar (above, p. 124). The proximity of temple and altar is any event required by the epigraphical formula *ad aram … ad / apud templum* or similar preserved by the titles of provincial priests, and it seems obligatory to conclude that, on construction of the Hadrianic temple, the original altar will have served the same purpose as that of any other altar before a classical temple.

A further idiosyncracy of the design of provincial centres is that only at Tarraco does one find colossal *clipei* with masks of Jupiter Ammon and Medusa; just as at the Forum Augustum in Rome, these will have been suspendended from the attic of the portico enclosing the *temenos* (above, pp. 15–17). Despite the popularity of the motif, which quickly spread to forums, temples and sanctuaries elsewhere in the western provinces, these features seem not to occur at other provincial sites; certainly no trace ocurs at Camulodunum, Narbo or Sarmizegetusa. The very considerable remains of similar masks and caryatids found at Emerita are presently attributed *in toto* to the so-called marble forum beside the civic forum dominated by the "Temple of Diana" (above, pp. 63–5). This was likewise modelled on the Forum Augustum as confirmed by a fragmentary local copy of the Aeneas inscription at Rome. Similarly at Corduba part of a *clipeus* is associated with the newly identified *forum adiectum* that repeats the same scheme (above, p. 82). Unless new evidence should alter present understanding, then, this common motif occurs in a provincial context only at Tarraco, whereas at Emerita and Corduba it is a distinguishing feature of a civic plaza.

While an altar or temple was the focal point of a provincial sanctuary, an area distinct from the *temenos* was clearly required in order to accommodate the various administrative functions of the provincial council. We have seen that similar annexes were a feature of Hellenistic sanctuaries, notably at Ancyra, from where it evidently spread to Rome and the west (above, pp. 1–4). Its best known realization in the Latin provinces is at Tarraco, where on the central terrace of the provincial precinct a forum was completed under the Flavians—about the same time, therefore, as the "Temple of Augustus", which would appear to have been begun under the Julio-Claudians (above, pp. 22–30). This central plaza was similarly enclosed by a system of porticos, in this case double, that linked up with the porticos of the *temenos* on the upper plateau, at the centre bottom of which a stairway perhaps 30m wide gave access below.[39] Archaeological exploration of the entire enclave has made remarkable progress in recent years thanks to the efforts of Spanish archaeologists, whose work has revealed that this central plaza was exactly double the size of the upper *temenos*. Surviving pedestals, particularly from the middle part of the forum, provide overwhelming evidence for the presence of honorific statues, not only of provincial priests and priestesses but also of other provincial luminaries: so much so that this whole area became in practice a field of distinction. Statues of provincial governors, in contrast, were erected on the higher level within the temple *temenos*. Traces of administrative buildings are far from secure but epigraphical records point to the location on this middle terrace of an assembly hall for delegates to the provincial *concilium*, a records office and a treasury, perhaps other bureaux also.[40] The overall lay-out is unclear but there seems reason to believe that construction will have conformed to a central sacred way that ran axially from the temple *cella* across the *temenos*, down and across the central forum, finally by way of a curved monumental staircase into the circus on the lowest level of the triple tiered enclave.

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[39] For the background and development of this composite model of *temenos* and public plaza see Ruiz de Arbulo (1998) 55, noting that at Tarraco the scheme was adapted to the profile of the terrain and pre-existing republican walls.

[40] Ruiz de Arbulo (1998) 55–7, suggesting that the *armaria* of the *tabularium* may have been kept in the *cella* of the provincial temple at the back of the *temenos* on the upper terrace. For his suggestion that the *concilium* might sometimes have met in the provincial temple see above, p. 34, n. 106. A more attractive proposal (*ibid.* 56) is that such legislative texts as the provincial *lex de flamonio* may have been displayed on this central forum.

At Camulodunum a rather different arrangement is discernible though the same distinction still holds between the temple court and an associated forum (above, pp. 146–8). Here the *temenos* is divided by the principal street of the colony from a lower court half the size:[41] in other words the proportions at Tarraco are exactly reversed at the British centre. Of particular note at Camulodunum is that in the lower forum there survive the remains of a large, basilica-like building that may have served as the *curia* of the provincial council. No trace of a comparable hall is preserved at Tarraco, though inscriptions attest the existence of seats for delegates, but at Emerita a similar structure in the vicinity of the Plaza del Parador is known from a dubious nineteenth-century plan. Quite possibly vestiges of the *curia* within a provincial enclosure are to be seen in this puzzling structure, precisely as at Camulodunum (above, pp. 48–51, 146). Whether the *podium* of a similar building is to be identified at Lugdunum is uncertain though a fragmentary inscription may refer to the deities that protected the hall of delegates. Bureaux associated with the federal officials attested by inscriptions can in any event be conjectured in an area that bristled with honorific statues to priests and other functionaries (above, p. 126). Administrative buildings including perhaps the provincial *tabularium* have been tentatively identified at the civic centre on Byrsa Hill at Carthage but no trace of similar structures is known at Corduba, Narbo or Sarmizegetusa—despite clear documentation in various sources of the activities of the provincial assembly. The sheer dimensions of the enclosure at Narbo nevertheless point to a physical lay-out on the lines of those at other centres where a provincial enclave was built *ad hoc*.

A final common denominator is that all provincial centres were equipped or closely linked with some sort of facility for providing the mass entertainment that was the high point of festivals of the provincial cult. The best known and most obvious examples are the amphitheatre built in two stages beside the Altar of the Three Gauls and the circus that butresses the central forum of the Tarraco enclave, with which it connects by way of a monumental stairway. At either site the location of the structure points unmistakably to the possibility of processions connecting the amphitheatre or circus with the provincial altar or temple. In addition to the circus at Tarraco, a well preserved amphitheatre lies only a short walk south east of the provincial enclosure, and a similar picture will surely have been true of the enclave at Narbo, where the site of the amphitheatre at least, is well established (above, pp. 35–6, 38–9, 130). Both Emerita and Corduba, in contrast, lacked a specially designed provincial enclave. At Emerita both the amphitheatre and the adjacent theatre were constructed prior to the installation of a provincial cult and as a consequence are located several hundred metres from the putative provincial centre, twice as far away, perhaps, as the amphitheatre from the Tarraco enclosure (above, pp. 65–9). At Corduba, on the other hand, the amphitheatre now looks to have lain between the theatre and the river, so relatively close to the south forum (above, p. 103). Only at Camulodunum is the presence of an amphitheatre in doubt though a recollection of its structure may survive in an early seventeenth record of a curving row of houses in Insula 3, very much as at Pisa, for example (above, p. 147).

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[41] For the design by which the *area sacra* enclosing a temple was separated by a street from an associated public plaza see Ruiz de Arbulo (1998) 55 with n. 140 and refs.

Circuses, in contrast, other than that at Tarraco, lay further afield. At Emerita the race course was placed across the river, well east of the city walls, at Lugdunum apparently in the vale of Trion on the far side of the colony—in both instances therefore relatively far from the provincial centre (above, pp. 69, 127). No trace survives of the circus at Narbo despite conclusive evidence for its presence in the form of bas-reliefs representing chariot races, but a location on the periphery of the colony as at Emerita or Carthage looks a reasonable conjecture. Most puzzling of all is the development at Corduba, where a first circus was laid out in the distict of Orive, just east of the temple in Calle Claudio Marcello, then a second circus constructed already in the second century on the far side of the city near the so-called Palace of Maximian (above, pp. 103–4). Broadly speaking, of course, apart from the circus that formed an integral part of the enclosure at Tarraco, race courses will have been located wherever a suitable open area was conveniently accessible for spectators. That this form of spectacle vied with gladiatorial combats as a key ingredient of imperial celebrations, particularly at the provincial level, can hardly be in doubt. In a sense, therefore, the location where either sort of facility was positioned can be viewed notionally as an extension of the provincial centre.

One last question that remains to be anwered is whether theatre performances were included in imperial celebrations at the provincial level, just as they were at the municipal. Direct evidence on the point seems to be lacking in the sources but the very location of theatres at cities that were the site of provincial centres speaks for itself. At Camulodunum in particular curved foundations of the theatre occur contiguous to the provincial enclave in the east sector of the town.[42] At least in Britannia, therefore, the location of the theatre immediately adjacent to the provincial temple points unmistakably to its role in provincial proceedings. At Emerita in contrast the theatre built early under Augustus, so before a provincial cult of Lusitania was even in existence, lies close to the amphitheatre and was consequently equally accessible for entertainment on imperial occasions (above, pp. 65–6). Again at Tarraco the theatre, extensively renovated in the second century is situated just east of the civic forum, at Corduba close to the south plaza (above, pp. 39, 101–3). If the circus or amphitheatre was the scene of contests on festival days, then, it can hardly be doubted that at the provincial level as at the municipal the theatre too will have staged shows on imperial days—possibly the less important. It might be added in this connection that at the theatres of both Emerita and Corduba a small *sacellum* has been identified with inscriptions and images associated with the ruler cult (above, pp. 69, 103). Whether these shrines played a role in provincial as well as municipal rites is entirely uncertain but it is conceivable that they were associated with the transportation of images to the theatre on imperial days (above, p. 191), much as at Gytheum in the Peloponnese.[43] In general, however, there can be no question that the theatre, like the circus and the amphitheatre, was closely associated with the provincial centre in both cult and ideology if not by actual proximity as pre-eminently the case at Camulodunum.[44]

As a general overview makes clear, therefore, provincial centres with their associated facilities need not all have conformed to the elaborate enclosures constructed *ad hoc* at Tarraco, Lugdunum, Narbo or Camulodunum. At Emerita and Corduba in particular, perhaps also at Carthage, an alternative option was to utilize an existing plaza or forum for provincial purposes; to what extent this involved additional construction differed from case to case. What is at all events clear is that no standard design applied to all provincial centres alike. Just as each city hit upon its own solution for lodging the provincial headquarters, so each sanctuary was fashioned according to the requirements of local conditions.

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[42] Fishwick, Camulodunum (1997) 48–9.

[43] Vol. II, 1, 514, 552, 564.

[44] For imperial statues at theatres in the Julio-Claudian period see the overview of Boschung (1990).

## iii. *Purpose and Function*

### a. Cult

The primary purpose of a provincial centre was to provide a focal point where cult could be offered to the emperor at the provincial altar or temple. The details of worship, to the limited extent they are ascertainable, are best considered in the context of provincial cult in general, but it is self-evident that at each provincial centre cult was offered by the priest elected by delegates to the provincial council and that regular practice called for worship to be offered on the days of imperial festivals as laid down by a liturgical calendar.[45] To this end the priest, who in his administrative capacity served as chairman of the *concilium*,[46] must have passed his year of office in residence, whether at the provincial centre or in the near vicinity. Where exactly he resided is unknown as there is nothing in the epigraphical or archaeological sources to suggest the equivalent of a presbytery; even so arrangements of some sort will certainly have been required if he was to perforn his duties adequately. Conceivably his residence will have been closely connected with the *curia* at which the *concilium* held its meetings, though an alternative possibility is that at Narbo, say, he was housed within the colony itself, given that the Lex Narbonensis implies he was included in the town council as a member of the local *ordo*.[47] At Corduba, of course, the provincial priest must have been lodged within the town if the *concilium* of Baetica simply used one of the civic plazas of the city for provincial purposes. The link between the provincial *concilium* and the local *ordo* of the city emerges at its clearest here in that, in lieu of a special enclosure constructed *ad hoc*, the province apparently used for provincial purposes a plaza "loaned" by the civic authorities (above, pp. 99–100).

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[45] Vol. II, 1, 497–501. See further below, pp. 229-33.

[46] Vol. III, 2, 301–2.

[47] Vol. III, 2, 5–6 *ad CIL* 12, 6038, lines 2–4.

To what extent the rites celebrated at the provincial altar or temple attracted onlookers is equally unclear.[48] That delegates to the *concilium* attended acts of cult at the time when the council was in session can hardly be doubted; throughout the rest of the year one would suppose that at Lugdunum, say, only the various officials connected with the cult, specifically the *iudex arcae Galliarum*, *allectus arcae Galliarum*, or *inquisitor Galliarum*, would have been regularly on hand. At Tarraco, in contrast, it would appear that organs of the provincial administration, possibly including the headquarters of the governor of Hither Spain, were located at the provincial centre, in which case one would have thought that the relevant officials and their staff would be well placed to assist at rites conducted from time to time in the *area sacra* of the upper terrace. The more important question that arises is whether the ordinary man in the street also attended. All one can say here is that entrances of various kinds, evidently found at all provincial centres (below, p. 217), certainly invited the presence of interested outsiders, just as they made other amenities of the provincial centre accessible to the general public. For none of these possibities, however, do we have any supporting evidence in the sources.

One feature peculiar to the provincial centre in relation to the worship of the province is that it will plainly have been the starting point of processions.[49] The most obvious example is at Tarraco, where there seems good reason to suppose that on the occasion of high festivals of the ruler cult a cortege of officiants with their retinue will have made its way along a *via sacra* from the altar of the provincial temple, across the central plaza, and down into the circus.[50] A similar procession can be supposed from the temple to the amphitheatre, which will certainly have been the scene of gladiatorial combats on such special occasions as the emperor's birthday, also to the theatre on what conceivably were lesser imperial days. Much the same picture will surely have been true of Lugdunum, where the proximity of the amphitheatre to the altar and later temple of the Three Gauls, in conjunction with the slopes that led down from either side of the terrace on which these structures are thought to have stood (above, p. 108), points directly to a train of dignitaries that proceded to and from the amphitheatre. Processions to the amphitheatre look equally probable from the temples within the enclosures at Narbo, Camulodunum and Emerita, from the public plazas used by the province at Corduba and possibly Carthage, or from the altars at Sarmizegetusa, Savaria or Aquincum. If a provincial temple was erected by the lower forum at Corduba, it would have been a short walk from here to the amphitheatre, likewise at Emerita a longer but still easy promenade from the putative provincial enclave to the amphitheatre or theatre. Much the same procedure can be also be assumed when imperial days were celebrated by theatrical performances; certainly all known theatres lie well within reach of the provincial centre. That processions connected with either of the two circuses at Corduba or even the more distant race course at Emerita looks also feasible. The circus at Lugdunum, in contrast, if correctly located in the Vale of Trion, would have been a very considerable walk from the federal sanctuary. Whatever the situation here, there can be no question that provincial centres served a basic cultic function as the place from which a colourful *pompa* departed on imperial holidays en route to some place of entertainment from which it returned at the close of events.

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[48] Vol. II, 1, 528–30.

[49] See in general Vol. II, 1, 550–66.

[50] For the hypothetical route of processions in the provincial centre at Tarraco see the persuasive diagram of Pociña-Remolà (2000) 43, fig. 30. See further below, pp. 270–1 with Pl. 147.

In all of this an altar or temple within the *temenos* of the enclosure remained the nub of provincial worship. We have seen that by the second century A.D. a temple had become the standard provincial monument everywhere except in the Danube region, where later provincial cults, all apparently Antonine in origin, centred on an altar to the living emperor(s). Complete absence of the cult of the *divi* is conspicuously reflected in the total lack of provincial temples throughout the area. Two aberrant features in this general picture call for special mention. In the sanctuary of the Three Gauls a series of altars dedicated to the *numina Augustorum* and placed centrally before the stylobates supporting a group representation of the priest *en famille* appear to have received occasional offerings (above, p. 126). The other anomaly is that at Sarmizegetusa but apparently only here in the entire Latin west, a range of temples to other deities stood in the immediate vicinity of the presumed site of the altar of Tres Daciae: Nemesis, Asclepius, Liber Pater *et al.*[51] While the reasons for this are obscure, especially when the location of the altar itself is far from certain, growing "oriental" influences in the Danube provinces at the turn of the second century go far to explaining a link between the provincial worship of the Roman emperor and cults of far different origin (above, p. 177).

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[51] According to the interpretation of provincial sanctuaries given by Le Roux (1994) 402: "… nous n'avons pas la certitude de la spécialisation des sanctuaires, ni des temples, qui accueillaient sûrement d'autres divinités, comme rien ne permet de dire que les divinités impériales n'entraient pas le plus souvent dans les autres édifices consacrés

### b. Administration

A second function of the provincial centre was to serve as the administrative headquarters of the *concilium*. We have seen that one of the principal structures at a provincial centre was the *curia* at which delegates to the council gathered for meetings and that vestiges of such an assembly hall exist in the form of inscribed seats at Tarraco, possibly in the basilica within the lower court at Camulodunum, also perhaps in the plan of a basilica-like structure near the Plaza del Parador at Emerita (above, p. 193). To these can be added the possible *podium* of the hall for Gallic delegates in the sanctuary of the Three Gauls (above, pp. 125–6). Such buildings seem at Tarraco and Camulodunum at least to have been situated in a separate forum outside the temple *temenos*. If the supposed assembly halls that have left traces at Emerita and Camulodunum are correctly interpreted, their premisses will have been of considerable size, a feature to be expected in larger provinces, especially if individual constituences could send more than one delegate as clearly the case in Tres Galliae. In smaller territories, particularly those of the Danube region, a more modest building proportional to the smaller number of delegates would have been appropriate.[52]

In addition to the *curia*, at which the *concilium* assembled under the presidency of the provincial priest, a provincial centre must also have accommodated the various categories of official attested by the epigraphical record. These might be connected solely with the affairs of the council as pre-eminently at Lugdunum, alternatively with the organs of provincial administration. At Tarraco we have documentation of a records office, including the base of the honorific statue raised to the archivist C. Valerius Arabinus, also of a treasury, the bureaux of

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à d'autres dieux". The only provincial centre which appears to have accommodated other divinities is that at Sarmizegetusa, which came into existence far later than the period from Augustus to Domitian with which the author is concerned. The one exception to this generalization, of course, is Dea Roma, whom we have seen to have had her place in various early provincial cults. At the provincial level imperial deities never shared temples dedicated to other deities.

[52] Fishwick, Gorsium (2000) 319 with nn. 46–7.

both of which were possibly located on the central terrace of the provincial enclave. Even the *praetorium* of the provincial governor of Hither Spain, traditionally identified with the Torre de Pilatos, may have stood within the provincial enclosure (above, p. 34). This combination of civil with religious organs of the province is very different from what one finds at Lugdunum, of course, where the federal sanctuary serving the three administrative divisions of Lugdunensis, Aquitania and Belgica was entirely distinct from the provincial administration of Lugdunensis. But a range of buildings looks to have existed on the east and west sides of the lower court at Camulodunum, quite possibly administrative in function; the nature and purpose of further buildings that lay in the associated upper court, including enclosed rooms along the interior open porticos remains to be explained (above, pp. 145–6). Similarly at Carthage, if the conjecture of P. Gros is correct, the quadrangular *tabularium provinciae* is to be identified along with other provincial structures on the western edge of the adjoining plazas that form the city forum on the summit of Byrsa Hill (above, p. 179). At Emerita, on the other hand, though inscriptions attest the presence of a provincial council and a freedman *tabularius* of the imperial administration, possibly associated with the provincial council as at Tarraco,[53] nothing is yet known of the administrative side of the supposed enclave beyond the possible existence of a *curia*. Present understanding of structural remains beside the internal plazas used by the province of Baetica at Corduba is still too uncertain to allow the identification of comparable provincial premisses.

The administrative side of the provincial centre was plainly central to the interests of the province. It was from their base here that delegates of the council could dispatch embassies to praise or, less often, blame Roman officials. The control that could thus be exercised over Roman officials is vividly documented in the extensive inscription of T. Sennius Sollemnis at Vieux (*CIL* 13, 3162), and the activities of the council at extraordinary meetings held at Lugdunum, Carthage or Corduba, for example, have been considered in detail earlier.[54] Just how central a role a provincal centre could play in provincial affairs is illustrated by the copy of Claudius' address of A.D. 48, originally posted, no doubt, on some public building in the sanctuary at Lugdunum (above, p. 127).

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[53] Vol. III, 2, 150.

[54] Vol. III, 2, 44, 199, 230.

### c. Recreation

A third and equally important function of a provincial centre was its role as a centre of entertainment and recreation.[55] That the cult of the emperor, particularly in its provincial idiom, should be associated with enjoyment was clearly an outcome ideally suited to the purposes of the central administration, particularly when festivities brought the general populace face to face with imperial rites in the form of inaugural processions. The most obvious aspect of this feature of provincial centres was the mass entertainment that formed the high point of regular meetings of the *concilium* and marked such major occasions as the emperor's birthday. At Tarraco the circus was physically part of the provincial enclave, at Lugdunum the amphitheatre lay adjacent to the federal altar, at Camulodunum the theatre was situated immediately beside the upper court of the provincial enclosure. A similar arrangement was evidently in place at Narbo and Sarmizetusa, and, if the amphitheatres or theatres at Tarraco, Emerita and Corduba stood some distance away, we have seen that they were still in a sense extensions of an enclave with which they would have been physically linked by processions on imperial festivals.

Other dimensions of this role of a provincial centre are less well documented but still plainly visible or at least deducible from the evidence now available. One of the more noticeable features of the enclosure at Narbo is that it apparently included a bathing establishment, as attested by the remains of a swimming pool along with nearby rooms with tiled floors (above, p. 131). There are no traces of a similar facility at other provincial enclosures, but at Carthage a baths stood beside the amphitheatre and circus at Bir el Djebbana on the border of the city. Whether the provincial centre was located in the vicinity of these structures or within the city on the summit of Byrsa Hill, the baths stood beside arenas that will have been packed with crowds on imperial festivals. Quite clearly so popular a venue as a public baths, a resource common to larger centres throughout the Greco-Roman world, would have been an attraction almost as enticing as the spectator sports of the arena or race course and have had the desirable effect of bringing people together in proximity to the provincial cult of the emperor.

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[55] See in general Vol. I, 2, 574–84.

That frequent visitation by the general public was a patent goal is clear from the archaeological evidence of gates, entrances and communicating stairs at provincial centres. At Tarraco, in particular, exploration has revealed not only entrances to the central plaza from the exterior but, within the enclosure itself, an elaborate system of stairways and towers that gave access between the *temenos* and the central terrace and from here to the circus on the bottom level (above, p. 31). Despite our lacunary knowledge of the enclosure at Narbo, vestiges of an elegant, columned peristyle were observed along the short, north side of the portico, evidently the formal entrance to the sanctuary (above, p. 131), while at Camulodunum the massive screen wall forming the south side of the temple court centred on an arched monumental gate that gave entry from the *decumanus maximus* (above, p. 145). The "Arco de Traiano" provided a similar monumental entrance to what looks to have been the provincial enclave at Emerita (above, pp. 52–8). In contrast, at Corduba the two civic plazas used by the province must have been accessible to the public from just about every side. At all these centres, therefore, the general populace will have been free to enter and wander about at will, aside presumably from areas reserved for administrative purposes or the immediate environs of the provincial altar or temple.

One final point that calls for mention in this connection is that at some provincial enclaves, at least, there may have existed landscaped areas with gardens, trees or shrubs, an open invitation for visitors to sit or wander. At Tarraco this is suggested by the remains of ornamental sculptures and fountains supplied by an aqueduct that led into the north angle of the central plaza; gardens in both the upper *area sacra* and central administrative area have been proposed (above, pp. 21, 35). Fronto sets the opening of his dialogue *Vergilius Orator an Poeta?* in the garden of a temple precinct at Tarraco, where he was leisurely enjoying the shade of trees, cool running water and fresh clean air, while discussing with a cultivated stranger from Baetica the nature of Vergil's art:[56]

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[56] Fishwick, Tarraco (1996) 174, 183, noting that the beginning of the manuscript seems to be corrupt. See further Ruiz de Arbulo (2002) 138–9 with nn. 1-6.

> *Capienti mihi in templo et saucium vigilia caput plurimarum arborum amoenitate, euriporum frigore, aeris libertate recreanti obviam subito quidam fuere, quos ab urbis spectaculo Baeticam revertentes sinister Af [f] ricae ventus in hoc litus excusserat*
> (*V.O.A.P.* 1)

This was probably the garden of a temple court situated in the lower part of the city, not the *temenos* of the provincial enclosure, but it gives an idea of the general character of such a retreat. Similarly at Lugdunum the sanctuary evidently included a grove that would have offered a place to sit and look around (above, p. 107). Gardens or shaded areas are not known at other provincial centres but something of the sort is surely to be expected.

### d. Ideology

On the central level of the Tarraco enclave, one could gaze across to the so-called *Repräsentationsplatz*, an area where stood an array of statues to past provincial priests and priestesses, ambassadors of the *concilium*, and other persons of distinction such as patrons of the province and provincial procurators—a sort of pantheon, therefore, of *les grands hommes* of the province (above, p. 32). On the terrace above stood the enormous replica of the octostyle temple of Mars Ultor with its flanking porticos, a recreation of the Forum Augustum at Rome. From the remains that have been recovered here as at Emerita and Corduba, where similar replicas evidently stood on a civic *forum adiectum*, it seems likely enough that one could have admired not only the temple with its acroteria and porticos hung with *clipei* recalling the conquest of Egypt after Actium (above, pp. 12–17) but also the statue group of Aeneas and Anchises, figures of the *summi viri*, perhaps also the kings of Alba Longa and the worthiest of the Julii, along with a copy of the Aeneas inscription.[57] The whole combination of didactic images sets out the ideological programme of the central regime, displayed where it would have the greatest impact on provincial awareness.

Similarly at Lugdunum a visitor's eye would have fallen on the great altar emblazoned with ensigns of the Augustan regime and flanked by towering statues of Victory, an ideological ensemble joined later by the temple of Tres Galliae (above, pp. 107–11, 123–4). Here too one could gaze upon the statues of the Gallic *civitates* grouped around the altar, the forest of memorials erected to past priests with their families, other officials of the confederate Gauls, and prominent administrators such as the procurator Tiberius Antistius Marcianus.[58] Similar memorials marked the civic plazas utilized by the province of Baetica at Corduba (above, pp. 73–9, 83–90) and much the same arrangement will presumably have been found at other centres now lost or scarcely known. To this evidence can be added the imperial iconography of amphitheatres, circuses, theatres and bathing establishments, a vast topic that reaches far beyond the scope of the present discussion and would require extensive analysis in its own right.

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[57] Fishwick, Forum (2000) especially 101–2.

The very existence of such visual imagery underscores the intention of the central regime to promote the glory of the state.[59] The psychological, even emotional, effect of the surroundings must have conveyed a overpowering sense of the grandeur of Rome, as compelling in its way as the ritual performed every few days at the provincial altar or temple. The same purpose will have been served by the actual location of, say, the Altar of the Three Gauls, visible from far and wide, or by the temple in the putative enclave at Emerita, where it stood on the highest point of the enclosure. Again at Corduba, if a provincial temple stood on the lower plaza, it will have been seen from miles around, while at Camulodunum the octostyle "Temple of Claudius" with the altar before it, flanked originally perhaps by statues of Victory on the Ludunum model, must have been equally impressive. The very placement of provincial monuments within the sanctuaries we know brings out, therefore, a further basic purpose of provincial centres: to provide a setting that would bring home to provincials the greatness of the occupying power—precisely as at the capital itself images of the regime, flaunted on every side by Augustus and his successors, will have everywhere impressed the passer-by with the majesty of imperial Rome.[60]

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[58] Vol. I 2, 318.

[59] See in general Fishwick, Ideology (2003) 63–74.

[60] For the impact of imperial images at Rome See Zanker (1990).

# PROVINCIAL CULT

Omission of the definite article is deliberate. While the term "The Provincial Cult", like "The Imperial Cult", is certainly defensible as the general categorization of a type of worship, it seems best to avoid any potential implication that worship of the emperor at the provincial level was a monolithic phenomenon with a uniform order of events or a consistent series of images found throughout the Roman world.[1] Instigated or prompted centrally in most cases, provincial worship in the Latin west was nevertheless particular to each province, which had its own form of cult, priesthood and organization suited in every case to individual circumstances. This is true despite the evident fact that regional and provincial cults, which began on two different tracks, had by the Antonine period broadly converged in a joint cult of living and dead emperors whereas new provincial cults in the Danube region, also the reformed cult of Tres Galliae, reverted in the second and early-third centuries to the original model of a worship centred on the reigning emperor.[2]

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[1] Bickerman (1972) 9; cf. now Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 318, noting that there was no single entity one can identify as "*the* imperial cult".

[2] Vol. III, 1, 173–81, 199–204.

## CHAPTER TWELVE

# REGALIA

Slight as it is, the surviving evidence for the costume and insignia of provincial priests and priestesses still adds up to a reasonably complete picture.[1] The key epigraphical text is the entry in the Lex Narbonensis confirming the right of a former provincial *flamen* to wear the *toga praetexta* at public games:

> 15. … *item spectaculo publico in provincia.* […22..*interesse liceto prae*-]
>
> 16. *textato eisque diebus, quibus cum flamen esset sacrificium fecerit, ea veste pẹ* [ …42… vacat]

In time a growing number of suitably attired past priests must have attended spectacles in company with the current *flamen*, who will presumably have been accompanied by his lictors and had the right to a front seat:

> 2. [.42.]*iique lictores q̣*[*ui* … *apparent* … *ei apparento*] …
>
> 5. [.15. *inter decuriones s*]*ẹṇ atoresve subsellio primo spectan*[*di ius esto* …30…]

Evidently the former *flamen* was also entitled to appear on sacrificial occasions sporting the vestments he had worn when offering sacrifice during his year of office. We have seen that the reading *ea veste pẹ* [is controversial and might be completed *pẹ*[*renni*, though *pụ*[*rpurea* still retains its plausibility.[2] On either reading the choice is between either the purple-bordered *toga praetexta*, inferentially worn on all occasions by the provincial priest like the *flamen Dialis*, or the purple woollen *laena* worn at the moment of sacrifice. As the relevant clause seems to imply a contrast between the priest's attire at shows and his vestment on the days he had offered sacrifice when in office, the balance of probability supports the conclusion that the reference on sacrificial days is to the *laena*, especially when Servius states specifically *laena genus est vestis*

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[1] Vol. II, 1, 475–81. For the array of the corresponding *archiereus* in the Greek east see Hertz (1997) 246–7.

[2] Vol. III, 2, 9–10.

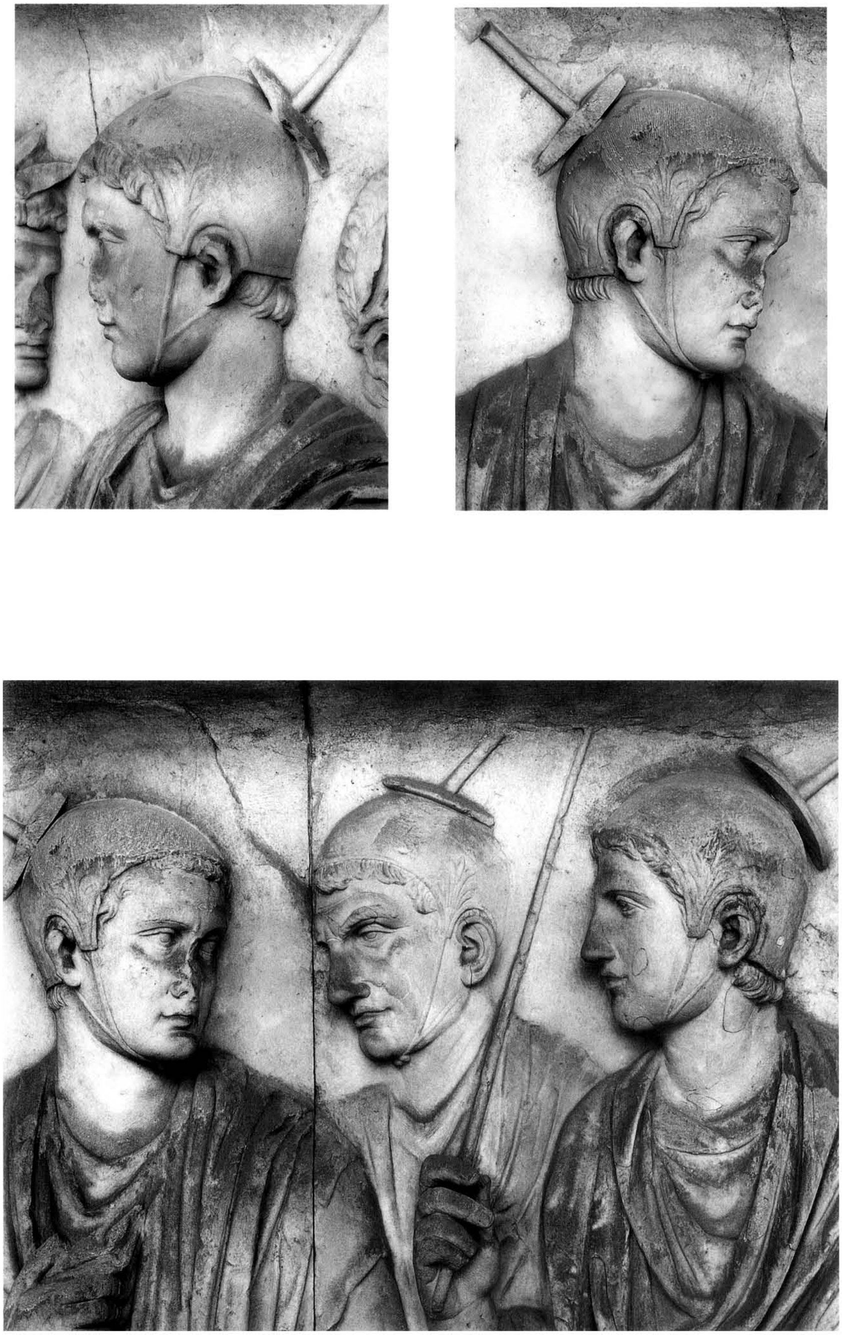

Plate 128a-c. *Flamines* wearing *apex*, south frieze of Ara Pacis, Rome.

(*ad Aen.* 4, 262; cf. 263). If this interpretation is correct, it follows from the regulation relating to the past *flamen* that the current *flamen* normally wore the *toga pratexta* except at the moment of sacrifice when he donned the shorter purple *laena*—whether instead of or on top of the *praetexta* is unclear.

Other items of apparel are known from the literary and archaeological sources. Tacitus reports that when Segimundus, priest at the Ara Ubiorum, defected from the Roman cause, he tore his fillets as a sign of disaffection: … *sacerdos apud aram Ubiorum creatus ruperat vittas* … (*Ann.* 1, 57, 2).[3] Plainly a badge of office, these *vittae* look to have been a local equivalent of the woolen bandalettes with which a Roman *flamen* bound his head when not wearing his *apex*, the distinctive headgear prominently depicted on the Ara Pacis, for example (Pl. 128a-c; cf. Vol. II, 1, Pl. LXXXVa).[4] The role of the *apex* itself in provincial cult is vividly illustrated by iconographic evidence at Tarraco, where part of a frieze, originally from the "Temple of Augustus" but now built into the cathedral walls, displays the *apex* of a provincial *flamen* with cheek straps for tying under the chin (Vol. I, 1; Pls. XXXI, XXXIIa).[5] Presumably provincial priests followed the example of the *flamen Dialis* in wearing their (white?) peaked caps out-of-doors. Towards the close of the period covered by the present analysis, however, this very Roman attire seems to have given way, at any rate in part, to the golden *corona*, originally an attribute of imperial priests in the Greek east.[6] The sacerdotal crown, adorned with images of the emperor (Vol. II, 1, Pl. LXXXVb), is a telling indication of the increasing orientalization of western provincial cult and is attested notably by inscriptions in Dacia which begin to refer to the provincial priest as *coronatus Daciarum*.[7] The key literary text occurs in Tertullian, who in referring to the provincial priests of Africa mentions the golden ornament around his neck as well as the *praetexta*, the *trabea* (similar to the *laena*) and a third *toga palamata* (embroidered with palms):

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[3] On the term *vita* see Siebert (1999) 139, 171, 271–2 with refs.

[4] Conlin (1997) 50–2, 54, 68, 75, 79, 81.

[5] On the *apex*, originally the spike of olive wood above the *galerus* of a Roman *flamen*, see Vol. I, 1, 125, II, 1, 475–6 and the sources collected by Siebert (1999) 118–28, 265–6, 312–3 with refs.

[6] Clauss (1999) 328–9.

[7] Vol. III, 2, 204, nos. 7, 9.

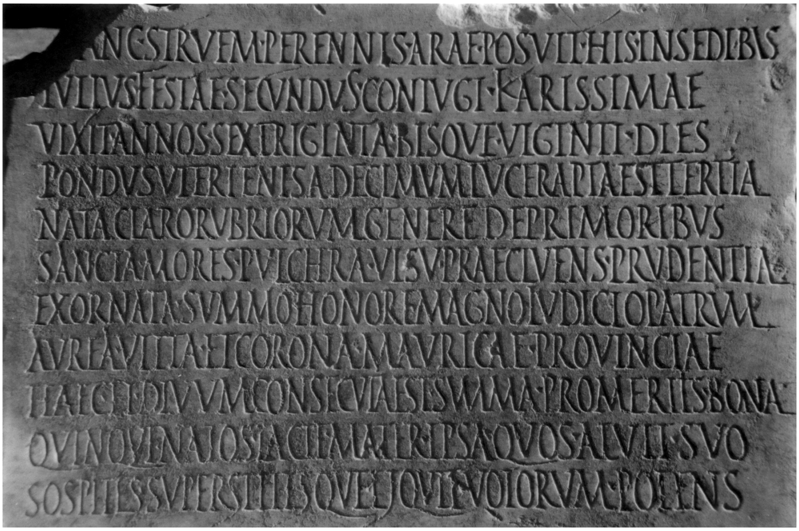

Plate 129. Inscription of Rubria Festa, provincial priestess of Mauretania Caesariensis.

> *Igitur purpura illa et aurum cervicis ornamentum eodem more apud Aegyptios et Babylonios insignia erant dignitatis, quo more nunc praetextae vel trabeae vel palmatae et coronae aureae sacerdotum provincialium, sed non eadem condicione.*
>
> *De Idolol.* 18, 1

Cf. *CIL* 8, 17896, lines 9–10 with p. 1705: … *Ter*[*t*]*io co*|*ronati* [*provi*]*nc*[*iae*] … (Thamugadi, A.D. 361–3)

We have seen that iconographic traces of this sacerdotal crown are preserved by two statues thought to represent the emperor Julian (Vol. II, 1, Pl. LXXXVc), also by an ivory dyptich of *ca.* A.D. 400 representing a crowned imperial priest presiding at games (*ibid.* Pl. LXXXVIa-b). To this ensemble can possibly be added a further detail sculpted below the *titulus* of L. Octavius Licinianus, provincial priest of Baetica, whose early-third century inscription was set up *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* by his son Octavius Licinianus on the south forum at Corduba (*CIL* $2^2$/7, 297). On the view of A. U. Stylow there appears below the text what looks to be a ring adorned with three gems, conceivably therefore an official emblem like the priestly crown (Vol. III, 2, Pl. 65).[8]

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[8] There is no mention of an *anulus* in Siebert's review of priestly equipment (1999).

The trappings of provincial priestesses in contrast are less conspicuously in evidence. According to the Lex Narbonesis, the *uxor flaminis* was clothed in a white or purple gown on festal days:

6. [.23. *uxor fla*]*minis veste alba aut purpurea vestita f̣*[*estis diebus* ...27...]

Presumably the same regulation applied to the provincial *flaminica*, though we have noted repeatedly that she was not necessarily the wife of the *flamen*. An inscription at Italica attests the golden crown of the municipal priestess Vibia Modesta (*AE*, 1982, 521). Her origin in Mauretania is of incidental interest in light of a funerary poem referring to a provincial priestess recently recovered at Cherchell (Caesarea) in Mauretania Caesariana:

> [*Ha*]*nc struem perennis arae posuit his in sedibus* | [*I*]*ulius Festae Secundus coniugi karissimae.* | *Vixit annos sextriginta bisque viginti dies.* | *Pondus uteri enisa decimum luce rapta est tertia.* | *Nata claro Rubriorum genere de primoribus* | *sancta mores pulchra visu praecluens prudentia* | *exornata summo honore magno iudicio patrum* | *aurea vitta et corona Mauricae provinciae* | *haec et divum consecuta est summa pro meritis bona.* | *Quinque natos lacte mater ipsa quos aluit suo* | *sospites superstitesque liquit votorum potens.* (*AE*, 1995, 1793; Pl. 129)

Iulius Secundus records that he has constructed an altar to his wife Rubria Festa, who had died at the age of thirty-six years and forty days. Apart from the detail that she expired three days after bearing her tenth child but leaving five children still alive, the text states that she was born into the Rubrii, one of the great families of Cherchell, and received the golden band and crown of the province of Mauretania. Quite clearly, then, the provincial priestess wore similar insignia to the municipal but including a fillet like that recorded of the Cheruscan Segimundus (above). This supreme honour was accorded *iudicio patrum*, a term that surely refers to the decision of members of the provincial council—not the local *ordo* of Caesarea. Only the provincial *concilium* can have chosen Rubria Fest as provincial priestess, an appointment marked by bestowal of the *aurea vitta et corona*.[9] An interesting side-light thrown by this record is that the husband may not have been a provincial priest himself—at least he makes no mention of such a distinction on his own part, as might have been expected in the context.[10] If this inference is correct, the Cherchel text reinforces the point that the provincial priestess need not be the wife of the provincial priest.

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[9] For the crowns worn by high priestesses in the east see Vol. II, 1, 477 with n. 15.

[10] See Vol. III, 2, 205.

## CHAPTER THIRTEEN

# CALENDARS

All doubt that the rites observed at provincial headquarters were geared to a set list of festivals has by now been surely laid to rest.[1] In practice it is impossible to think that the occasions on which a provincial priest paid cult in one form or another to the emperor and his deified forbears were not set out in calendared order through the year. Epigraphical confirmation is provided by the stipulation in the Lex Narbonensis referring to the days when a past priest performed sacrifice during his year of office (*CIL* 12, 6038, line 16: above, p. 223), also by the provision that a substitute *flamen* shall conduct rites for the remainder of the year in the same order as the annual *flamen* he has replaced:

> 19. … *per reliquam*]
>
> 20. *partem eius anni eo ordine hab(e)to quo annuorum flamin*[*um habentur* …

The development of a state calender at Rome, particularly in regard to imperial anniversaries, has already been considered in the light of surviving Acts of the Arval Brethren,[2] which provide its clearest reflection, and we have seen that this evolving list of festal days set the pattern for the civic cults of Italy, where local calendars like that of the municipal temple at Cumae (*InscrIt* 13, 2, no. 44)[3] were plainly based on the official *feriale* at Rome.[4] A document similarly instructive is the Feriale Duranum, which, if different in application, still prescribes many of the same anniversaries for celebration by the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* at Dura Europus—and doubtless by troops throughout the empire—as are listed in the Acta Fratrum Arvalium.[5] While a select group of *feriae publicae* go back to the Republican period, imperial days are of particular significance for present purposes: the birthday and other occasions of the reigning emperor, Alexander Severus, further members of the *domus imperatoria*, particularly deified ancestors and imperial women, the *divi* and *divae*.[6] Both the anniversaries and the rites by which they were observed match the version of central practice recorded in the *AFA*: the comparison with the celebrations of the Arvals, like the manner of their observance, is very close.

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[1] Vol. II, 1, 482–501; Claus (1999) 316–9 (to be used with caution). For lack of information on the precise dates of festivals in the Greek world see Hertz (1997) 252–4, noting that the Rhomaia Sebasta at Pergamum evidently occurred about 23rd September (the birthday of Augustus), the Sebasta of Neapolis about 1st. August.

[2] See now the new edition by Scheid (1990). For a general overview of the college see Rüpke (1995) 45–8, 178–9; Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 194–6, 251.

[3] Rüpke (1995) 429, 525, 527–8, 603.

[4] Vol. II, 1, 490–2. On the view of Rüpke (1995) 546, cf. 538ff., 601, local communities had in practice no freedom of choice, no leeway for initiative in establishing their own list and time-table of festivals with accompanying rites, but were obliged to take over the official canon of festivals as a unifying component of an empire-wide religion; the language of the *lex coloniae Genetivae*: LXIIII (*CIL* 2, 5439 = *ILS* 6087) simply implies confirmation of the arrangements of the preceding year, with only exceptional additions, not a yearly changing festival list: *o.c.* 533–7. *Contra* Nock (1952) 193, taking the text to imply local discretion; cf. Vol. II, 1, 490 with n. 91; Kajava (2001) 86.

Explicit evidence for the existence of imperial calendars at the provincial level is nevertheless wanting in the Latin west, despite the plain implication of the Lex Narbonensis that such a list was currently in use at the provincial centre of Gallia Narbonensis. At the civic level a partial list of imperial anniversaries survives in the inscription of the Ara Numinis Augusti at Narbo, an Antonine(?) copy of which survives (*CIL* 12, 4333, Pl. LXXVa).[7] We have seen that the document prescribes rites on such occasions as the Kalends of January, Augustus' first assumption of the *fasces* (7th January), and the two-day celebration of his birthday (23rd–24th September), together with an event of purely local significance, Augustus' reconciliation of the people and decurions of Narbo (31st May).[8] Apart from the last occasion these festivals are clearly based on religious practice at Rome. Otherwise dated inscriptions at a number of local communities confirm the observance of imperial birthdays and other festivals of the reigning house—*dies imperii*, steps in the emperor's career such as his assumption of the *toga virilis*, adoption of the presumptive heir, and similar events.[9] The general impression one has in consequence is that each and every provincial centre will have similarly possessed a *feriale* corresponding, say, to the fragmentary calendars that have survived in Egypt,[10] and that the provincial priest will have followed a set order of rites to be performed on principal occasions of the imperial house. No doubt the whole was varied from province to province by the inclusion of anniversaries of local interest such as the foundation of the provincial cult or the *adventus* of a particular emperor, conceivably also by the festival of a deity of local importance.[11]

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[5] Hertz (1978) 1193–9; Vol. II, 1, 488–9, 593–608 with refs.; Rüpke (1995) 526; Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 251, noting that the degree of uniformity implies central regulation, 324–6. See further Vol. III, 1, 216.

[6] Fink–Hoey–Snyder (1940) 165–90.

[7] Rüpke (1995) 525 with n. 6.

[8] Vol. II, 1, 379–80, 482; Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 355.

[9] Vol. II, 1, 497–9.

[10] Vol. II, 1, 488, 492–4, noting the calendars from Tebtunis and Oxyrhynchus, also

In striking support of this conclusion, reached on the basis of already existing evidence, attention can now be drawn to regulations embedded in the Lex Irnitana (*AE*, 1986, 333), the best preserved local version of the Flavian municipal law, versions of which were despatched under Domitian appparently to both Roman and Latin centres in Baetica and doubtless the rest of Spain.[12] As these charters go back to a central prototype only slightly modified to fit the circumstances of each individual community, it seems clear that standard provisions applied throughout Spain and apparently elsewhere in the empire down to as late as the third century A.D.[13] The feature of particular interest for present purposes is that several clauses of the law refer to what was clearly a centrally issued roster of festivities or commemorations designed for local observation "on account of the veneration of the imperial house". The most informative passage is paragraph 92 with its several references to official festivals, on the days of which various forms of legal business were forbidden:

> *R(ubrica). Quibus diebus res ne iudicentur et in quoṣ in tertium ne detur.*
>
> …, *neve in eos dies in terti|um dato, quos dies propter venerationem domus Augustae festos | feriarumve numero esse haberique o[p]ortet oportebit*, … (lines 27–30)
>
> … *neque is dies erit quem prop|ter venerationem domus Augustae festum feriarumve nume|ro esse haberive oportebit.* … (lines 37–9)
>
> … , *neque is dies erit quem propter venerationem | domus Augustae festum feriarumve numero ẹsse haberique | oportebit.* … (lines 44–6)
>
> …, *neve is dies erit quem propter venerationem domus | Aug(ustae) festum feriarumve numero esse haberive oportebit.* … (lines 49–50)

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financial records from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Arsinoe.

[11] Vol. II, 1, 500–1.

[12] Vol. III, 1, 97 with n. 10; Rupke (1995) 540–6; Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 251 with n. 20, 315, 356 with n. 124.

[13] Rüpke (1995) 603. For similar provisions at Lauriacum in Noricum (A.D. 212–17) see Gonzalez (1986) 241–3 (Appendix 2 by M. H. Crawford). Cf. Vol. III, 1, 140, n. 141.

With these can be compared a similar allusion in paragraph 90:

> *R(ubrica). De in tertium dando.*
>
> … *Item si inter eos, inter | quos ambigetur et iudicem, qui inter eos iudicare debe|bit, in aliquem diem uti in tertium inter eos {iudicare de|bebit in aliquem diem uti in tertium inter eos} detur conveniet, neque is di|es propter venerationem domus Augustae festus erit feriarumve nu|mero propter eandem causam haberi debebit, in eum diem in tertium inter | eos dato*. … (lines 31–7)

See further the similar provision in para. 31:

> *R(ubrica). De convocandis edicto ḍecurionibus at sublegendos decuriones.*
>
> *[E]ique, cum ad | ẹos de ea re relatum erit, primo quoque tempore diem ei rei, dum ne | ex his diebus, per quos, ut res in eo municipio prolatae sint, futurum | eṛ[it] quive dies propter venerationen domus Augustae festi feri[a]|rumve numero erunt*, … (lines 51–5)

It would appear, then, that under Domitian an official list of anniversaries was issued to local communitities, which then included these imperial occasions alongside festivals determined locally.[14] This centrally controlled and distributed schedule, providing for the observance of a set series of imperial anniversaries by municipalities and colonies throughout Spain if not the western provinces as whole, corresponds exactly to the inferred calendars that on the foregoing argument were disseminated for use at provincial level. Given that copies of a law similar in content to the Lex Narbonensis were evidently in use at various provincial centres in the western provinces—Narbo, Tarraco, Corduba, Carales in particular—it seems a reasonable assumption that in conjunction with these regulations a calendar of imperial festivals will also have been issued from Rome, then periodically updated.[15] Presumably the occasions on which rites were performed were appropriate to the content of the provincial cult. If so, the festal days observed at Lugdunum, for example, will have been brought into line with those at other centres following the inclusion of deified personnages in the provincial cult of Tres Galliae under Hadrian, whereas a similar *feriale* followed in the Danube region would rather have focussed on the occasions of the reigning emperor on much the same lines as the regulations set out by the Ara Numinis Augusti at Narbo. Like municipal priests of local communities, then, provincial priests of the various provinces of the Latin west will sooner or later have followed an official list of imperial days on which set rites were prescribed. Apart from the possible inclusion of festivals particular to an individual province, pretty much the same rites must in that case have been followed at both the provincial and muncipal level everywhere throughout the west, particularly on high feasts such as the emperor's birthday.

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[14] Vol. III, 1, 216 with n. 15.

[15] For the modification or abolition of festivals on the official list see Vol. II, 1, 489, 501 and the pertinent remarks of Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 251 with n. 22.

## CHAPTER FOURTEEN

# RITES

### i. *Cult Places*

The focal point of provincial rites was either the provincial altar or the provincial temple.[1] We have seen that an altar was the principal monument at early regional sites, at the federal sanctuary by Lugdunum down to the reign of Hadrian and again under the Severi, possibly at Camulodunum under Claudius, at Arae Flaviae in the Agri Decumates, and at all provincial centres established during the Antonine period in the Danube region. In other provinces worship centred on a temple as at Tarraco, Emerita, Narbo Martius, eventually at Camulodunum, Lugdunum and Corduba, presumably at Carthage, perhaps also at Carales, Caesarea and elsewhere (above, p. 183)—not that any physical traces have so far appeared at these latter locations. At all provincial temples rites will naturally have been performed at an exterior altar so placed as to give the officiant a direct view of the cult idol within the temple (Vitr. 4, 5, 1; cf. 9, 1).[2] Conceivably at Camulodunum, certainly at Lugdunum, the original altar continued to serve as the focus of ritual once a temple had been erected immediately to the rear (above, pp. 142–3, cf. 124). In strict accord with standard Graeco-Roman practice, therefore, provincial rites were always performed at an altar whether this was an independent monument in its own right or the altar complementary to a provincial temple. Nothing supports the notion that rites would have been performed in the provincial council, that is—presumably—within the provincial *curia*.[3]

Direct knowledge of the appearance of these cult places is nevertheless very slight. In practice the coins have preserved the image of only three monuments: the Ara Trium Galliarum decorated with imperial insignia and flanked by twin Victories perched on columns, the octostyle "Temple of Augustus" standing on a broad stylobate at Tarraco, and what can only be the tetrastyle provincial temple of Lusitania at Emerita; if this is the temple in Calle Holguín at Mérida, as seems very possible, its archaeological remains confirm the details of the structure shown on Tiberian coins of Emerita. An outline of the temple at Camulodunum can be reconstructed from its *podium* but all other provincial monuments are known essentially on the basis of references in the epigraphical sources. The argument has been developed at length that the octostyle temple depicted on coins of Tiberius at Tarraco illustrates the projected form of the provincial temple on the upper level of the triple-tiered sanctuary at Tarraco and that this replicates the archaeological and iconographic scheme of the Forum Augustum at Rome (above, pp. 15–17). In that case one wonders whether the altar which must have stood before it was built into the temple steps on the model of the arrangment at the temple of Mars Ultor. Whatever the facts in this regard, at all other provincial temples the associated altar was presumably erected a short distance before the temple steps. The archaeological record shows that this was certainly the case at Camulodunum and the formula *ad aram apud templum* vel sim. at Lugdunum points to a similar arrangement at this centre too.

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[1] See in general Vol. II, 1, 518–25.

[2] Vol. II, 1, 519, n. 271; III, 1, 72, n. 119.

[3] Vol. III, 1, 238 with n. 83.

As for the principal features of the imperial image or idol, the evidence one has to go on is even more tenuous. At Lugdunum coins show that the centre of the *mensa* supported two *aediculae* within each of which can be seen what appears to be a statuette (above, pp. 117–20). Conceivably these are representations of Roma and Augustus respectively and will have been on view during the performance of rites, possibly also carried in procession on appropriate occasions (see below, pp. 276–8). Whether similar shrines containing images stood on other altars on ritual occasions we have no idea. Cult idols within provincial temples are even harder to devise as no physical trace of these has survived, not unless one can count the differing representations of the projected statue within the "Temple of Augustus" at Tarraco as pictured on coins (below, pp. 241–3). The only recourse under the circumstances is to turn to comparative evidence elsewhere and on the basis of this to draw cautious conclusions regarding the possibility of similar arrangements at provincial temples in the Latin west.

First the Greek east. Here too no cult statue from a provincial temple has left any trace but at two centres in particular an idea of the image

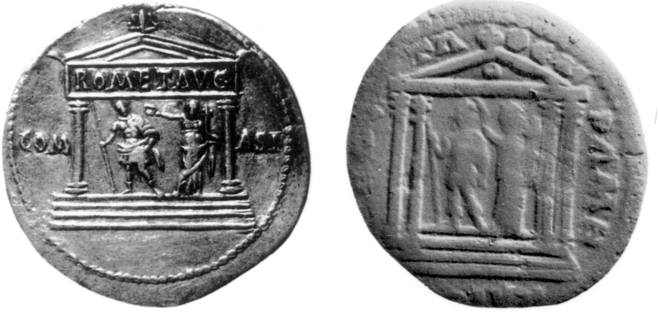

Plate 130. *Cistophoros* of A.D. 41/2 showing cult group in temple of Roma and Augustus at Pergamum, Roma crowning Augustus. Plate 131. *Aes* of Trajan showing cult group at Temple of Roma and Augustus at Pergamum, Roma crowning Augustus.

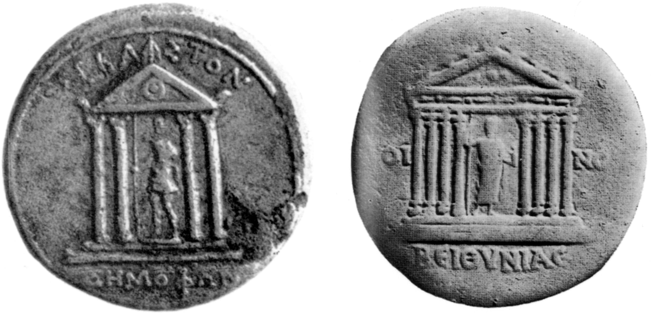

Plate 132. *Aes* of A.D. 4/5 showing statue of Augustus at Temple of Roma and Augustus at Pergamum. Plate 133. *Aes* of Hadrian showing statue of Hadrian wearing *Hüftmantel* and holding Victory in outstretched left hand, Temple of Nicomedia.

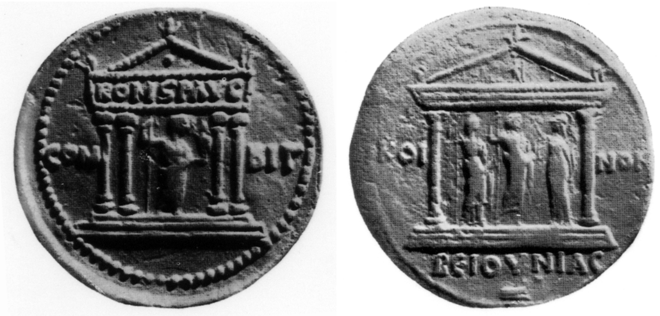

Plate 134. Hadrianic *cistophoros* showing Hadrian wearing *Hüftmantel* and holding Victory in outstretched left hand, Temple of Nicomedia. Plate 135. *Aes* of Hadrian showing cult group with Hadrian wearing *Hüftmantel* and crowned by Roma, Temple of Nicomedia. Female figure to right of emperor.

can be gathered from its representation on coins.[4] At Pergamum the temple dedicated to Roma and Augustus is variously, therefore unreliably, shown as dystyle or tetrastyle, but the consistent representation of the cult group strongly suggests that this gives an accurate picture. Augustus appears frontally in cuirass and *paludamentum*, weight on the right leg, a spear in his right hand, the left arm lowered. To his left Roma, clad in a girdled *chiton* and with *cornucopia* held in her left arm, extends a crown over the emperor's head (Pls. 130, 131). The same type of Augustus appears when he is represented singly on other coins (Pl. 132); in contrast Roma nowhere appears unaccompanied, telling commentary on her inferior status despite Octavian's directive that he might be worshipped by non-Roman provincials only in company with Roma (Suet., *Aug.* 52).[5] Coins of Nicomedia on the other hand show differing representations of the cult figures within the temple of Roma and Augustus.[6] The emperor alone is represented variously, on some coins frontally again, weight on the left foot, right hand resting on a spear and holding a Victory in his outstretched left hand (Pl. 133). In this pose he is sometimes cuirassed, on others occasions wears the *Hüftmantel* with nude upper torso (Pl. 134).[7] Where coins show the full cult group, Roma is helmeted, wears a long *chiton*, and crowns Augustus from his left, while on one issue Augustus and Roma are accompanied by a third female figure, variously interpreted,[8] who stands to the emperor's right and supports her hand on a sceptre (Pl. 135). In this case too Augustus wears the *Hüftmantel*.

To the coins can be added a famous literary description of the cult group within the temple of Roma and Augustus dedicated at Caesarea before 10 B.C.[9] According to Josephus, the figure of Augustus was modelled on Phidias' statue of Zeus at Olympia, that of Roma on the Hera of Polycletus at Argos (*Bell. Iud.* 1, 414; *Ant. Iud.* 15, 339). In that case the statues, presumably both of gold-ivory, will have been seated figures, the emperor represented with nude upper torso and holding a Victory in his outstretched right hand, his left hand supported on a spear (above, pp. 27–8); Roma must, like Hera, have held a pomegranate in

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[4] Price (1984) 178; Hänlein-Schäfer (1985) 81–2 with numismatic refs.

[5] Vol. III, 1, 3, 229.

[6] Hänlein-Schäfer, *o.c.* 83–5 with refs.

[7] *Ead.*, *o.c.* 83, n. 213, observing that the figure wears the *Hüftmantel*, not the toga as hitherto supposed.

[8] *Ead.*, *o.c.* 81, suggesting the figure may be Sabina rather than Bithynia.

[9] Vol. II, 1, 521.

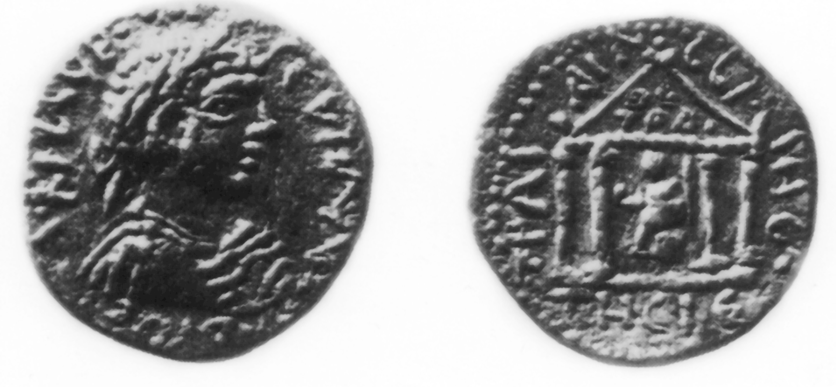

Plate 136. *Aes* of Severus Alexander, Selinus-Trajanopolis, showing Trajan represented as Zeus enthroned.

her right hand, likewise a sceptre in her left.[10] Interestingly, coins of Selinus-Trajanopolis in Cilicia show Trajan within his temple similarly represented as Zeus enthroned, holding a thunderbolt (globe?) in his right hand and resting his left upon a sceptre (Pl. 136).[11] On the basis of the combined numismatic and literary evidence, therefore, it would appear that the cult figure of Augustus could appear either cuirassed or wearing the *Hüftmantel*, Roma either seated and holding a pomegrante or sceptre or helmeted and dressed in a long *chiton* in the act of crowning the emperor. The one common feature of these various representations is that the cult figures are either above life-size or colossal and often fashioned of precious metal with the plain intention of overawing the worshipper.[12]

In the west the assimilation of Augustus to Jupiter is as common in iconography as in the literary sources.[13] At Lepcis Magna (Vol. II, 1, Pl. XCVb, c) only the heads from the colossal, acrolithic, seated figures of Divus Augustus and Roma have survived among numerous remnants of other statues that stood in or by the imperial temple on the *forum vetus* (Vol. II, 1, Pl. XCVb-c) but it is clear that Augustus is represented in the Prima Porta type, Roma as helmeted (Vol. II, 1,

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[10] Hänlein-Schäfer, *o.c.* 84–5.

[11] Hill (1900) 143, nos. 1–2.

[12] Vol. II, 1, 521 with refs.; Witschel, Kaiserstatuen (1995) 255.

[13] Hänlein-Schäfer, *o.c.* 85, noting the assimilation of Augustus to Zeus in the east.

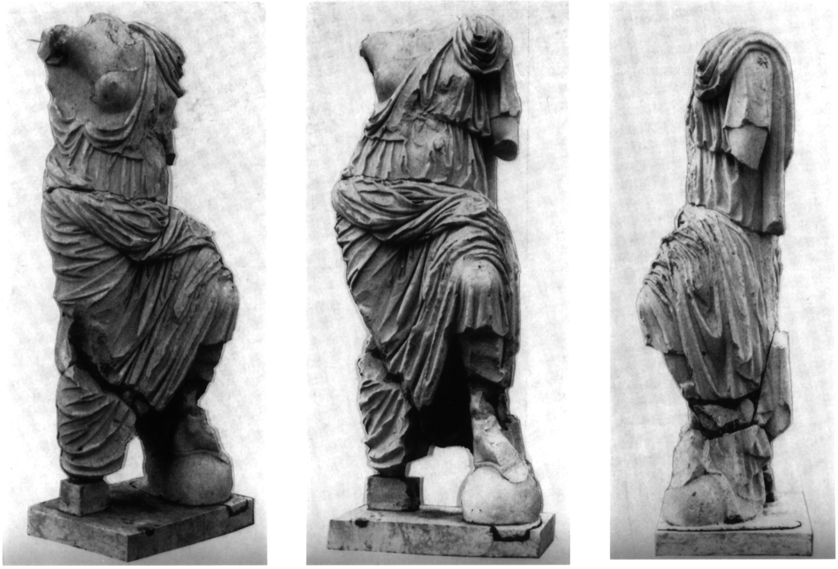

Plate 137. Cult statue of Roma at Ostia.

Pl. XCVIa, b).[14] At Ostia in contrast only the fragmentary, headless statue of Roma is preserved (Pl. 137) but she is patently portrayed in the Amazon type, left foot placed on a globe and wearing a three-quarter length *chiton*, over which a robe streches to the ground. Conceivably she held a spear, a crown or a statue of Victory in her raised right hand, in the left a *parazonium* as commonly with this type. Whatever the original attributes, the lost figure of Augustus is to be supplied to her right, precisely as in the cult groups at Pergamum and Nicomedia.[15] Again, within the temple of Divus Augustus at Rome, with its cult figures of Divus Augustus and Diva Augusta, Divus Augustus was very probably represented in the guise of Jupiter: at least so much seems to follow from the statement by Prudentius that the temple of Divus Augustus was constructed *Iovis ad speciem* (*c. Symm.* 245–50).[16] The portrayal of the

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[14] Vol. II, 1, 521–2; Hänlein-Schäfer, *o.c.* 86; Witschel, Kaiserstatuen (1995) 253–4. Conceivably the temple was originally constituted to Roma and Augustus—cf. Vol. III, 1, 48; Price (1984) 152, n. 47—but by the time it was completed and the cult figures along with other statues installed (A.D. 23) Augustus was already consecrated. At Ostia the municipal temple was apparently dedicated to Roma and Augustus even though begun under Tiberius. See Vol. III, 1, 72.

[15] Hänlein-Schäfer, *o.c.* 85–6.

[16] Fishwick, Temple of Divus Augustus (1992) 232–45.

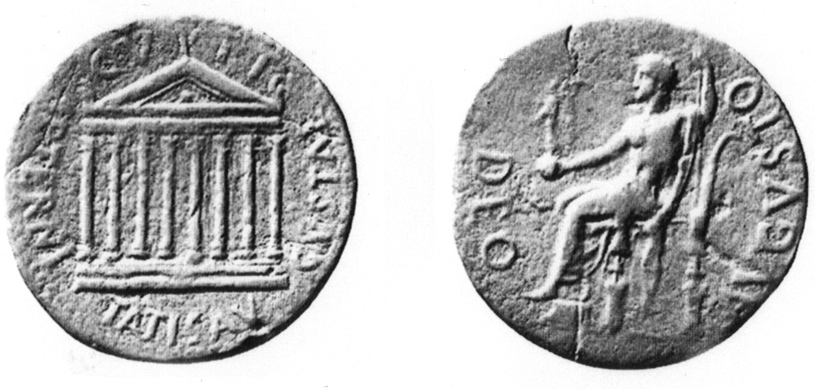

Plate 138. *Dupondius*, struck early under Tiberius at Tarraco, showing obv. projected cult statue of Augustus as Jupiter; rev. projected temple of Divus Augustus.

monarch as enthroned Jupiter was, of course, a creation of the early principate, though the image of seated Jupiter had been in general circulation from some time after 83 B.C. Representations of this kind all show the emperor enthroned with nude upper torso, left hand holding a spear or sceptre.

Of particular interest in this connection is that coins of Tarraco, struck early under Tiberius (above, p. 6), show on their reverses the projected temple of Divus Augustus, on the obverses Augustus as Jupiter seated left on a throne and usually grasping in his left hand a long sceptre, in his outstreched right hand a globe on which stands a small winged Victory (Pl. 138). On another issue, in contrast, Augustus sits left on a curule chair grasping the *patera* in his right hand, a long sceptre in his left (above, pp. 27–8) (Pl. 139). On any variant the seated figure is linked to a Roman type of A.D. 22–3 showing on one issue Tiberius, laureate and togate, seated left on the curule chair and holding the *patera* in the right hand, a long sceptre in the left (Pl. 140). On the other Augustus, radiate and togate, is seated left on a throne holding a branch or a *patera* in the right hand, in the left a long sceptre (Pl. 141).[17] Given their date of issue, these Tarraco coins must show the *projected* cult statue, the eventual form of which appears not to have been in place before the Flavian period, at which stage the cult included the living emperor, Roma and deified imperial personnages, as the

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[17] Fishwick, Coinage (1999) 103.

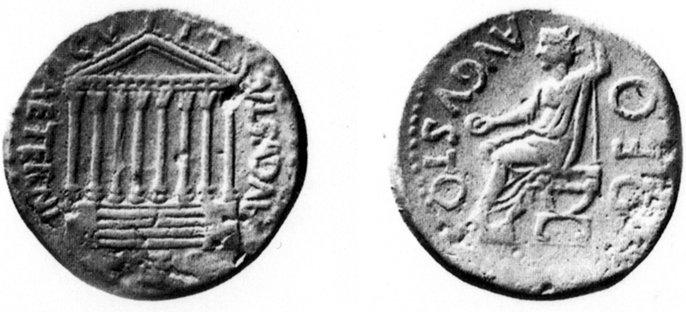

Plate 139. *Dupondius*, struck early under Tiberius at Tarraco, showing obv. projected cult statue of Augustus as Jupiter; rev. projected temple of Divus Augustus.

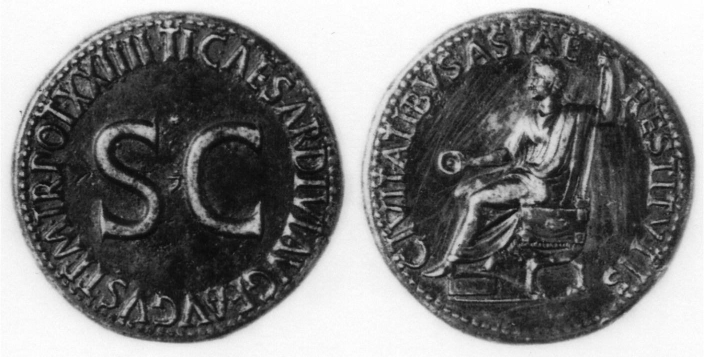

Plate 140. *Sestertius*, Rome, A.D. 22–3, showing rev. Tiberius seated left on curule chair, holding *patera* in right hand, sceptre in left.

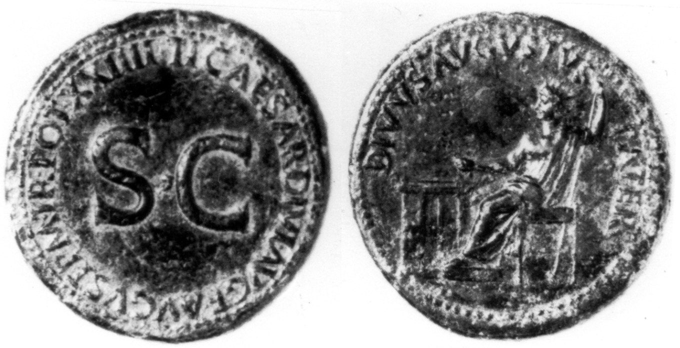

Plate 141. *Sestertius*, Rome, A.D. 22–3, showing rev. Augustus radiate seated left on throne, holding branch(?) in right hand, sceptre in left.

incriptions make perfectly plain. As with representations of the emperor in the eastern provinces, the very size of his image, particularly in the guise of Jupiter, must have made an overwhelming impression on the worshipper.

A further question concerns the interior arrangements at provincial temples. If one turns to the east once more, several centres are instructive. At Boubon in northern Lycia a small square room approximately 5 × 6m, open to the front, was flanked by similar rooms, so appears to have been part of a stoa rather than a free-standing temple. Long since plundered, some of its statues are nowadays housed in various collections, but inscribed bases still *in situ*[18] show that a series of twenty or more statues stood along three internal walls of the building in chronological sequence, apparently from the first to the third century, and that like imperial calendars these were continually updated.[19] Built and dedicated presumably under Nero by the governor C. Licinius Mucianus, the structure was clearly a Sebasteion. To judge from the majority of the preserved male statues the figures were mostly over-life-sized, nude bronze likenesses, frequently fashioned in the same pose with the weight on the right leg, left arm hanging, right arm raised and holding a spear(?). The same presentation seems to have been used repeatedly, no doubt because it was thought appropriate of emperors included in a cult.

At Olympia in the Peloponnese, in contrast, the old Metroon was unquestionably a temple of the mother of the gods.[20] Pausanias reports (5, 20, 9) that in his time the *agalma* had been replaced by statues of imperial figures which ran along three sides of the *cella* with the central cult statue placed against the back wall; his description of these as *andriantes* would cover the figures along the walls but looks inexact in regard to the central, 5m high marble cult statue of Augustus as Zeus, the upper torso of which has in fact been found. An inscription on the architrave records that the inhabitants of Elis had newly refurbished the temple as that of Augustus, the saviour of the Greeks and the whole world, therefore presumably in the emperor's lifetime, but further statues were set up along the side walls in the Claudian and

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[18] Witschel, *o.c.* 254, nn. 39–42.

[19] For the imperial figures identified by the bases see Witschel, *o.c.* 255; cf. Price (1984) 160 with 263–4: catalogue no. 82, noting that the actual statues of Lucius Verus and Septimius Severus survive, also two heads from statues of Caracalla along with several unidentified figures.

[20] Price (1984) 160–1, 164, 179; Witschel, *o.c.* 254.

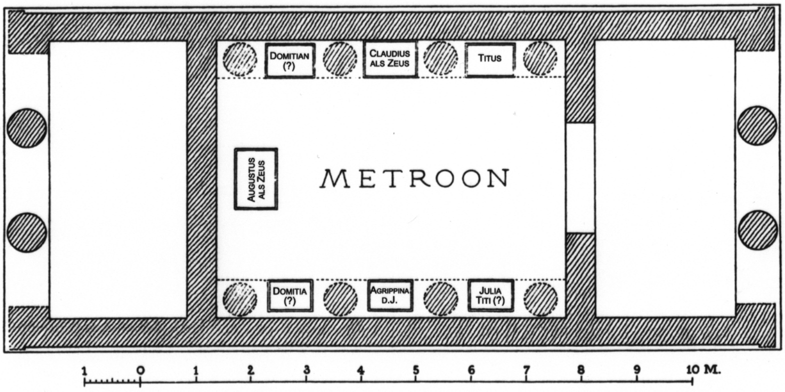

Plate 142. Metroon at Olympia showing placement of central cult statue of Augustus as Zeus flanked by statues of imperial figures.

Flavian periods, including figures of Claudius as Zeus, Titus, Agrippina II and other imperial women (Pl. 142).[21] Similarly at Cestrus in Cilicia a cult image of Vespasian stood in the centre of an imperial temple with statues of later emperors and imperial figures to either side.[22] A comparable arrangement occurs in the imperial room in the portico at Thera and a similar Sebasteion at the sanctuary at Leto also contained imperial bronze statues.[23] With these temples and cult rooms exclusively designed for imperial figures can be compared lastly the temple of Zeus Philios and Trajan at Pergamum.[24] Here the latest archaeological discoveries suggest that the cult group consisted originally of Zeus Philios and Trajan, to which was added a representation of Hadrian when he reconstructed the sanctuary; surviving fragments of the imperial figures point to colossal cuirassed statues with a spear or sceptre in the outstretched left hand. All this repeats the familiar combination of gods with emperors in the same temple, a practice current in the Greek east since Hellenistic times, though it is noticeable that the emperors are diffentiated from the god in that Zeus is enthroned whereas the emperors stand cuirassed, a clearly marked hierarchy.

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[21] For the arrangement of the statues—males on the north side, females on the south—see Hitzl (1991) 25–9, 101–5, with review of earlier scholarship, 31–2. For the colossal statue of Augustus see *ibid.* 34–8, 115.

[22] Price (1984) 161.

[23] *Id.*, *o.c.* 159.

[24] Witschel, *o.c.* 255 with refs.

An arrangement of particular note in the present context occurs in the imperial temple at Lepcis Magna, where the cult images of Divus Augustus and Dea Roma must have each been placed in one chamber of the divided *cella*. A neo-Punic inscription on the lintel of the door records that eight statues were erected on completion of the temple and mentions various other monuments including two thrones for Augustus and Tiberius and a *quadriga* for Germanicus and Drusus, the accumulated group dating to A.D. 23.[25] Another series of statues was set up in the vicinity of the building in A.D. 45/46 and further sculptures appropriate to the monuments mentioned in the inscription were found in the environs including several over-sized, acrolite heads that apparently belong to the seated statues. Where exactly these will have stood in the interior of the temple is complicated by the division of the *cella* but they were certainly placed against a wall as their backs were left unfinished.[26] Aside from the divided space, the arrangement recalls that in the Metroon at Olympia, the Sebasteion at Boubon, and the imperial temple at Cestus.

These comparative examples suffice to suggest that an arrangement along similar lines will in all probability have been followed at provincial temples in the west. While it must be stressed that we have no direct evidence to go on, analogy suggests that at Emerita, the earliest provincial cult place in the western provinces, the central figure will originally have been that of Divus Augustus, to which was added a representation of Diva Augusta on the deification of Livia; from the Flavian period onwards the figure(s) of the living emperor(s) must have joined representations of the growing number of *divi* or *divae*. At Tarraco, as we have seen, a representation of Divus Augustus in one or other of the poses of Jupiter looks to have been originally intended, but if the temple within the provincial enclave was not completed and put into cultic use until the Flavian period, everything suggests that the figure of the reigning Augustus and Roma will have taken centre stage in line with a cult directed to Roma, the living emperor and the deified Augusti. Here as at other centres the epigraphical evidence is critical. Much the same arrangement can be supposed at Emerita at this period though we have no inscription at the Lusitanian centre to attest the inclusion of Roma. Her presence in what must eventually have been a similar cult group at Camulodunum is equally uncertain. At Narbo Martius in contrast she will certainly have been excluded from the cult statues of living and dead emperors in the provincial temple of Gallia Narbonensis, while at Corduba—wherever the provincial temple may have stood—the inscriptions suggest a similar ensemble in line with a cult group that likewise centred on the living emperor(s) along with deified emperors, to the exclusion of Roma.

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[25] Witschel, Kaiserstatuen (1995) 253 with nn. 8ff. and refs.

[26] Vol. II, 1, 522 with n. 285, suggesting that seated statues of Tiberius and Livia may have been placed beside the cult idols against the back wall of the divided *cella*, other statues along the side-walls or in the *pronaos*.

In every case, then, an arrangement like that in the Metroon at Olympia can be supposed except that at Corduba and elsewhere figures of the deified deceased along the walls must have been cult statues not *andriantes*. An exception to the general picture will have been the central group at Lugdunum which to judge from the inscriptions must have featured Roma and living emperor accompanied by the *divi / divae*. Whether the living emperor was shown standing as at Pergamum and Nicomedia is entirely unknown; the Tarraco coins suggest that the preferred representation in the west was that of the emperor as Jupiter enthroned. Such an assimilation would appear the likelier possibility at Lugdunum if the temple was constructed under Hadrian—in the aftermath of Trajan's Jovian policy, that is[27]—but whether Roma was shown seated beside enthroned Augustus as at Caesarea or crowning a standing figure of the emperor as at Pergamum and Nicomedia is entirely uncertain. The fact that at Caesarea she was seated beside the emperor enthroned as Jupiter is nevertheless suggestive. A final point concerns the growing number of statues as *Augusti / Augustae* multiplied. At Olympia this problem was evidently solved by placing imperial statues in the temple of Zeus once the Metroon was filled,[28] a procedure plainly impossible at a provincial temple. An alternative scheme might have been to place representations of deified emperors in tiny *aediculae* flanking the central cult image, as in the *templum divorum* at Rome,[29] but with no evidence to go on there is no way of telling whether this solution was anywhere adopted.

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[27] Fears, Jupiter (1981) 80–5.

[28] Price (1984) 161.

[29] Vol. II, 1, 520–1 with n. 278.

### ii. *Sacrifices*

The calendars that have survived in various parts of the empire prescribe rites of one form or another that are to be performed on different occasions of the liturgical year. With no comparable *feriale* to illuminate provincial cult in the western provinces, however, the way particular anniversaries were observed is as much a matter for conjecture as is the inclusion of the festivals themselves. In the face of this difficulty the most one can do is to note the kinds of rites that marked different categories of imperial occasions at other levels of imperial cult and cautiously infer that similar *sacra* will have been appropriate at the provincial. Regrettably, whereas the ceremonies associated with the annual *vota* of January 3rd are well known from Pliny and the record of the Arvals (below, pp. 252–3), there seems to be no evidence of any kind that might cast light on the rituals observed on particular anniversaries of provincial cult. The Lex Narbonensis, for instance, refers directly to the sacrifices performed by the provincial priest, yet without specific mention of any of the occasions involved:

> … *eisque diebus, quibus cum flamen esset sacrificium fecerit*…
>
> … *et poterit Narbone sacra facito* […
>
> *CIL* 12, 6038 = *ILS* 6964, lines 16, 19; Vol. I, 2, Pl. XLIII

Earlier analysis has nevertheless argued that the *ritus Romanus* will have been followed throughout,[30] in which case standard procedure will have called for a preliminary supplication of incense and wine before the offering of a victim.[31] Iconographic representations of priestly instruments appear to confirm this verdict, at least in general terms (below, pp. 256–8).[32]

The high point of the liturgical year was the emperor's birthday. At Rome, where the *AFA* give the clearest surviving picture of public religious practice,[33] we have seen that by the reign of Nero the Brethren observed the *natalis* of the living emperor by offering animal sacrifice to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus or the Capitoline Triad, in some cases along with Salus publica, Concordia and the emperor's Genius.[34] A representative text records the ceremonies on Nero's birthday, 15th December, A.D. 58:

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[30] See in general Vol. II, 1, 501–5, 525–8.

[31] Vol. II, 1, 502, n. 170. For details of the procedure see Scheid (1990) 326–39; Clauss (1999) 321–4.

[32] Vol. II, 1, 504–5.

[33] Vol. II, 1, 505–7; Beard–North–Price (1998) 194–6. For a list of the celebrations of the Arvals based on complete or nearly complete epigraphical records see Scheid (1990) 435–9.

> *Isdem co(n)s(ulibus) (ante diem duodevicesimum) k(alendas) Ian(uarias) L. Salvius Otho Titianus mag(ister) collegi arval(ium) nomine immolavit in | Capitolio ob natalem Neronis Claudi Caesaris Aug(usti) Germ(anici) Iovi b(ovem) marem, Iunoni vaccam, | Minervae vaccam, Saluti publicae vaccam, et Concordiae honoris Agrippinae Aug(ustae) vacc(am), | Genio ipius taurum. …*
>
> *AFA* p. 66, no. 27, cf. p. 57, no. 24 (A.D. 55), p. 72, no. 28 (A.D. 59–60)

Whereas the sacrifice of a victim was a mark of cult paid on most occasions by the Arvals, in the Feriale Cumanum this is reserved for the birthday of Augustus himself, when sacrifice was made directly to the emperor:[35]

> [*VIIII k. Octobr(es) n*]*atalis Caesaris. Immolatio Caesari hostia, supp⟨l⟩icatio* [*Vestae*] (*InscrIt* 13, 2, no. 44)

As noted earlier, much the same procedure was occasionally the case at centres in the east.[36] Similarly at Narbo the two-day festival of 23rd–24th September was celebrated with offerings to the Numen Augusti, the central focus of the cult attested by the famous altar—victims the first day, incense and wine on both:[37]

> *Pleps* (sic) *Narbonen|sium aram Narbone in foro posuit, ad | quam quot annis VIIII k. Octobr., qua die | eum saeculi felicitas orbi terrarum | rectorem edidit, tres equites Romani | a plebe et tres libertini hostias singu|las inmolent et colonis et incolis ad | supplicandum numini eius thus et vinum | de suo ea die praestent*; *et VIII k(alendas) Octob. | thus vinum colonis et incolis item prae|stent* … .
> (*CIL* 12, 4333 = *ILS* 112, lines 12–21; Vol. II, 1, Pl. LXXVa)

Again at Forum Clodii two victims were offered, presumably to the Numen Augustum, on the *natalis* of the deceased Augustus while on Tiberius' birthday a free meal for the people, funded by private benefaction, along with the sacrifice of a calf is prescribed (*ibid.*, lines 7–10).

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[34] See now Scheid (1990) 412–7 with table of the ceremonies marking preserved anniversaries.

[35] Vol. II, 1, 490, 509, 516. For the variation between *supplicatio* and *immolatio* at Cumae see Rüpke (1995) 357, 429, n. 4.

[36] Vol. II, 1, 512–5.

[37] Vol. II, 1, 502; Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 355. On the consecration of the Narbo altar see Pekáry (1985) 108.

In addition the rite of supplication was paid at the altar to the *genii* of both emperors on the same occasions:[38]

............

> *Victimae natali Aug. VIII k. Octobr. duae, quae p(er)p(etuo) | inmolari adsueta*[*e.*] *sunt ad aram, quae numini Augusto dedic(ata) est, VIIII et VIII k. Octobr. | inmolentur; item natali Ti. Caesaris perpetue acturi decuriones | et populus cenarent,—quam inpensam Q. Cascell*[*i*]*o Labeone | in perpetuo pollicenti, ut gratiae agerentur munificentiae eius—eoque | natali ut quotannis vitulus inmolaretur.* |
>
> *Et ut natalibus Augusti et Ti. Caesarum, prius quam ad vescendum | decuriones irent, thure et vino genii eorum ad epulandum ara | numinis Augusti invitarentur.* |
>
> (*CIL* 11, 3303 = *ILS* 154, lines 4–9, 10–12)

It is worth noting too that the decree of the Mytileneans, as displayed at Brundisium, Tarraco and Massilia provides for sacrifices in celebration of Augustus' monthly birthday as well as special yearly sacrifices.[39] Dated inscriptions, both civilian and military, also coincide occasionally with the emperor's *natalis*, presumably intentionally, though dedications rather than rites are what is recorded.[40] In contrast, the Feriale Duranum, the calendar of observances prescribed for units of the Roman army throughout the empire,[41] must have marked the missing *natalis* of Severus Alexander with the offering of a bull, but in this case to the emperor's Genius, so directly in line with the orginal, Augustan form of ruler cult prescribed for Roman citizens in Rome.[42]

Other occasions of the living emperor follow a similar pattern. The general picture at Rome, as reflected in the *AFA*, is that principal anniversaries were marked by the offering of animal victims, as a rule to the Capitoline Triad, sometimes with the emperor's Genius and other deities, later to deified males and females.[43] In all cases the victim differed according to the gender of the deity, males receiving a *bos mas*, females a *vacca*, conventions that were followed to the letter in the later Feriale Duranum, which clearly replicates practice at Rome.[44] Such imperial anniversaries included the bestowal on the emperor of *imperium*, tribunician power, the consulship or the titles of *pontifex maxi-*

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[38] Vol. II, 1, 490–1, 510, 516; Beard–North–Price 1, 354–5.
[39] For details see Vol. II, 1, 513.
[40] Vol. II, 1, 497–8, 606.
[41] Vol. II, 1, 488–9, 593–608; Beard–North–Price (1998) 1, 251, 324–6.
[42] Fink–Hoey–Snyder (1940) 173–81; Vol. II, 1, 606; Claus (1999) 316–8.
[43] For details and references see Vol. II, 1, 507.
[44] Vol. II, 1, 488–9, 507–8.

*mus* and *pater patriae*,[45] to which occasions can be added adoptions, the discovery of plots, victories and triumphant returns, also the emperor's *adventus*.[46] One might compare the victims, following incense and wine, that were offered at Narbo to mark Augustus' first assumption of the *fasces* on 7th January:[47]

> … *VII quoq(ue) | idus Ianuar(ias), qua die primum imperium | orbis terrarum auspicatus est, thure | vino supplicent et hostias singul(as) in|molent et colonis incolisque thus vi|num ea die praestent* …
> (*CIL* 12, 4333 = *ILS* 112, lines 21–6)

Or the conventions followed in the Feriale Duranum,[48] whereby the principal occasions of the ruling emperor were festival days marked by animal sacrifice to the Capitoline Triad or once again to the emperor's Genius.

> *III i[d]us Ṃ[artias quod] imp(erator) [Caesar M(arcus) Aurelius Severus Alexander im]peratọṛ | ap[pellat]ụ[s sit, Io]ṿị b(ovem) ṃ(arem), [Iunoni b(ovem) f(eminam), Minervae b(ovem) f(eminam)* … (Col. I, lines 23–4)

> … *[imp(erator) Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexande]r Aug(ustus) [… | primo] imp[erator] ạppel[latus sit supplicatio … | pridie idu]ṣ [Martias q]uod Ạ[lexander Augustus no]ṣ[ter Augustus et Pater | Patriae et Pontife]x̣ Max̣[imus appellatur s]ịṭ supp̣[licat]io; [genio do|mini nostri Alex]and[ri Augusti taurum*
> (Col. I, lines 25–9)

In contrast to practice at Rome, however, where animal victims are a characteristic of cult paid by the Arvals, supplication is the more common rite at Cumae,[49] where the first imperial acclamation of Augustus on 16 April, 43 B.C. is commemorated in the Feriale Cumanum by a supplication to *Felicitas imperi*:[50]

> *[XVI k. Mai Eo die Caesar primum imperator app]ellatus est. Supplicatio Felicitati Imperi* (*InscrIt* 13, 2, no. 44)

It is noticeable, however, that on January 16, the anniversary of the day when Octavian was named Augustus, the supplication was made directly to the emperor himself. As with the animal sacrifice to Augustus on his birthday, therefore, this elevates the emperor to the status of a god:[51]

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[45] For Claudius' appelation as *pater patriae* see Scheid, *o.c.* 389–90, 434.

[46] Scheid, *o.c.* 385–412 with tables 8–14.

[47] Vol. II, 1, 482.

[48] For the text of the Feriale Duranum see Fink–Hoey–Snyder (1940) 40–9; Fink (1971) no. 117, 422–9.

[49] Vol. II, 1, 509–10; Rüpke (1995) 429 n. 4; cf. Vol. II, 1, Pl. XCIa-b.

[50] Scheid (1990) 389.

> *[X] VII k. Febr(uarias). Eo d[ie Caesar Augustu]s app[e]llatus est. Supplicatio Augusto* (*InscrIt* 13, 2, no. 44)

Lastly, whereas the *natales* of other members of the imperial house were usually celebrated at Rome by animal sacrifice to Jupiter Optimus Maximus or the Capitoline Triad, sometimes with Salus publica and Concordia,[52] at Cumae the birthdays of imperial princes were marked, like most other occasions, by a supplication—in this case to Vesta:[53]

> *nonis Octobr(ibus) Drusi Caesaris natalis. Supplicatio V[e]stae.*
>
> *XVI k. D[e]c[e]mbr(es). Natalis Ti. Caesaris Supplicatio Vesta[e]*
>
> *[VIIII k. Iun. Natalis Germanici Caesaris. Supp]licatio Vestae.*
>
> (*InscrIt* 13, 2, no. 44)

As for the cult of deified personages,[54] the birthday of Divus Augustus was originally marked by the sacrifice of an ox on the Capitol to Jupiter, but the festival was extended to two days following the dedication of the Palatine temple of Divus Augustus, and on the second the Arvals sacificed a second ox to Divus Augustus at his new temple.[55] Similar rites to Divus Augustus were performed on other days, notably the Augustalia of 12th October.[56] Similarly on the anniversary of Livia's consecration the Arvals sacrificed a cow to Livia along with an ox to Augustus at their temple.[57] But following the deification of Claudius the *AFA* record that on various occasions both he and Divus Augustus received a *bos mas*, Diva Augusta a *vacca*, either on the Capitol or at the Palatine temple, while a cow was offered to Diva Claudia and Diva Poppaea.[58]

There is no mention of the cult of the *divi* in the Feriale Cumanum, or in the inscriptions of the Numen Augustum at Forum Clodii or the Numen Augusti at Narbo, but sacrifices to deified emperors and consecrated females form the largest class of festival days listed in the Feriale Duranum.[59] The birthdays or ascensions to the throne of a surprising range of *divi* were marked by the sacrifice of a *bos mas* to the particular *divus*, whereas the birthdays of *divae* were observed by the cheaper rite of a *supplicatio* to the *diva*:[60]

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[51] Vol. II, 1, 509 with n. 220.

[52] Scheid, *o.c.* 414–17, noting the different rites commemorating the anniverary of Nero's father, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus.

[53] Vol. II, 1, 509.

[54] Scheid, *o.c.* 417–24.

[55] Vol. II, 1, 506–7; Scheid (1990) 418, Table 15.

[56] Scheid, *o.c.* 419.

[57] Scheid, *o.c.* 423.

[58] Vol. II, 1, 506–7 with refs.

> *priḍie ṇonas Apṛiles ob natalẹ[m] Ḍị[v]i A[n]toniṇi Ṃagni D[i]vọ Aṇ[t]ọṇ[in]ọ b(ovem) m(arem)* |
>
> *v idus Apṛiles ob imperium Dị[v]ị P̣ịi Sevẹri Ḍ[i]vo P̣[i]ọ [S]evẹṛ[o] ḅ(ovem) ṃ(arem)*
>
> (Col. II, 2–3)

> *[iiii n]ọṇ(as) [I]ụlias oḅ [n]ạtalem Divaẹ Ṃaṭidiae Diva[e] Mati[di]ae suppl[icat]i[o]* (Col. II, 19)

No less that twenty-one days of this kind are marked in the surviving part of the calendar. The fact that offerings were likewise made to the principal gods of the Roman pantheon and that *feriae publicae* are celebrated in the Dura calendar confirms that the military *feriale* itself was patterned directly on state practice at Rome, where the rites of the Arvals included regular offerings to the Capitoline Triad, imperial abstractions and Dea Dia.[61]

Besides these festivals of the Roman liturgical year it might be noted that the annual vows of 3rd January, made and paid for the emperor's *salus* and *incolumitas*, were marked in the records of the *AFA* at Rome by the standard offerings to the Capitoline Triad and Salus Publica and that by the reign of Nero offerings to Divus Augustus, Diva Augusta and Divus Claudius at the new temple of Divus Augustus were also included.[62] Pliny describes to Trajan the similar rites he performed as provincial governor of Bithynia:

> *Sollemnia vota pro incolumitate tua, qua publica salus continetur, et suscepimus, domine, pariter et solvimus precati deos, ut velint ea semper solvi semperque signari*
> (*Ep.* 10, 35, cf. 100)

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[59] Fink–Hoey–Snyder (1940) 181–90; Vol. II, 1, 507–8; Beard–North–Price (1998) 324–6.

[60] For a partial list see Clauss (1999) 317.

[61] Scheid, *o.c.* 384ff.; Beard–North–Price (1998) 251, 325.

[62] Vol. II, 1, 507, 515, 517–8; Scheid, *o.c.* 298–309. For other public *vota*, including *vota extraordinaria* and the technical procedure of *nuncupatio* and *solutio* see ibid., 309ff.

Trajan replies:

> *Et solvisse vos cum provincialibus dis immortalibus vota pro mea salute et incolumitate et nuncupasse libenter, mi Secunde carissime, cognovi ex litteris tuis.*
> (*Ep.* 10, 36, cf. 101)

As we have seen earlier, incriptions at Cyrene and Ptolemais in Cyrenaica, also at Sarmizegetusa in Dacia, attest the celebration of similar rites, if in uncertain circumstances.[63] The observance of the Kalends of January, in contrast, is missing in the relevant section of both the *AFA* and the Feriale Duranum[64] but an entry in the Narbo inscription shows that the festival was celebrated here by the offering of incense and wine that were to be supplied to the *coloni* and *incolae* for the rite of supplication:[65]

> *… k(alendis) quoque Ianuar(iis) thus et vinum | colonis et incolis praestent …*
> (*CIL* 12, 433 = *ILS* 112, lines 20–1)

Lastly, it is of interest to note that at Narbo a purely local event, Augustus' reconciliation of the *plebs* and decurions of Narbo, is celebrated by victims and the supplication of the Numen Augusti, for which incense and wine were again to be provided to the *coloni* and *incolae*:

> *et pridie k. Iunias quod ea die … | … iudicia | plebis decurionibus coniunxit, hostias | singul(as) inmolent et thus et vinum ad | supplicandum numini eius colonis et | incolis praestent.* (*ibid.*, lines 27–32)

With no surviving example of a list of festivals prescribed for observance at the provincial level, any conclusions on the content and rites of such *ferialia* can be no more than conjectural. Even so, the reference in the Lex Narbonesis to a set order of observances, in combination with the calendars that are known to have been sent out under Domitian to colonies and municipalities in Spain (above, pp. 231–2), surely confirms that at least from the Flavian period provincial priests will have had in their hands a prescribed order of festival days to be observed throughout the liturgical year. Presumably a similar roster will have been followed earlier, if on a less uniform basis. That observances occurred more or less regularly at intervals of a few days or so looks also a reasonable inference from the fact that a replacement for the provincial *flamen* at Narbo is to perform the sacred rituals within three days from the time has has been informed:[66]

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[63] Vol. III, 1, 216, 231–2.
[64] Fink–Hoey–Snyder (1940) 41, 50–1; Scheid, *o.c.* 435.
[65] Vol. II, 1, 502.

> … *tum uti quiṣ* [*flamen proxime fuerit*…19…*is*] | *in triduo quo certior factus erit et poterit Narboni sacra facito*[ (*CIL* 12, 6038, lines 18–19)

As for which days will have been prescribed and the observances by which they were kept, what one could expect is that at least the major feast days of provincial cult will have been marked by the offering of a victim, with the more economical rite of the *supplicatio* as the regular rite on other anniversaries, the offering graded according to the perceived importance of the festival.[67] More particularly, sacrifice of a *hostia*, following a preliminary supplication of incense and wine, must have marked the emperor's birthday at the provincial level throughout the whole of the western empire; whereas other occasions, particularly the *dies imperii* of the living emperor, the *natales* of members of the *domus imperatoria*, and the imperial days of deified ancestors, to the extent that they were observed at all, may have been celebrated by the offering of incense and wine. One might compare the annual *supplicatio* performed by deputies of the *civitates Galliae* at the *tumulus* of the Elder Drusus.[68] On 3rd January, of course, the empire-wide *vota* on behalf of the emperor's *salus*, as described by Pliny (above, p. 252), can be inferred with certainty. As with so many other parts of ritual, however, we have no direct clue as to who received the offering, but it seems reasonable to think that on major feast days this will have been the living emperor—either alone or in combination with the *divi* / *divae* when they were incorporated in the cult—in all provincial cults everywhere, that is, except in Hispania citerior and Lusitania down to the time of Vespasian.[69] Whenever a provincial worship included Roma, as later in Hispania citerior or in Tres Galliae from the start, the goddess was presumably co-recipient with the emperor also. Similarly in cults that included the deified dead, the *natalis*, perhaps other occasions also of the *divi* / *divae*, will surely have been marked by an offering to the particular deified member of the *domus imperatoria*—we have earlier noted that the *feriale Duranum* records the practice of animal sacrifice to a *divus* but a supplication to a *diva* (above, p. 43).

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[66] Vol. III, 2, 11.

[67] Vol. II, 1, 515–18. There is no equivalent evidence in the west to the elaborate list of victims that an inscription prescribes for sacrifice by different officials and communities on festival days at Oenoanda. See Vol. II, 1, 617–8; Hertz (1997) 248–9.

[68] Suet., *Claud.* 1, 3; Vols. III, 1, 216, n. 13; 2, 45, n. 116.

[69] Vol. III, 1, 222.

Beyond these imperial festivals, morever, comparison with the Dura calendar suggests that certain *feriae publicae* of the Roman State, notably the Kalends of January or the Vestalia, Neptunalia and Birthday of Rome, will have been observed, also that victories were celebrated, just as the *feriale Cumanum* marks the victories of 4th(?) September and 15th April by a supplication, in the latter case to Victoria Augusta (*InscrIt* 13, 2, no. 44).[70] Analogy suggests that offerings will have been made on such occasions to various Roman gods or abstractions, conceivably on behalf of the emperor's *salus*. As days celebrating imperial recovery from sickness or the detection of conspiracies were commemorated by the Arvals and are occasionally echoed in dated Latin inscriptions, these occasions too might at some stage have been kept in provincial cult. The entire roster of observances will naturally have undergone continual revision. In addition local festivals appropriate to each province, the festival of Lug at Lugdunum, for example, or events of local significance such as the emperor's *adventus* or the foundation of the provincial cult, may well have been celebrated by special rites, just as at Narbo the intervention of Augustus on behalf of the plebs of Narbo was marked by victims to the Numen Augustum on 31st May. What has long since become clear, on the other hand, is that provincial rites were not offered to the emperor's Genius exclusively as used to be thought.[71]

As emphasized repeatedly, this broad reconstruction is necessarily conjectural. Even so, some degree of confirmation is occasionally provided by surviving representations of the ritual implements associated with the practice of ruler cult. These do not of course reveal which occasions were marked by what observances but they at least point to the kind of rites that the provincial *flamen* or *sacerdos* customarily performed in the course of his duties. Attention has earlier been drawn to the recovery at Lyon of a small statuette of a priest carrying a box for incense,[72] though nothing goes to show that this particular relic necessarily relates to provincial cult. We have also noted a whole range of *instrumenta sacra* that are portrayed on altars in particular, attesting their association with imperial worship—notably the *urceus*, *patera* and *lituus* on an altar of the Numen Augusti at Tarraco.[73] The only item among all these examples that clearly belongs to provincial cult is the sprinkler (*aspergillum*) illustrated on the temple frieze at Tarraco in association with the insignia of the imperial priest (Vol. I, 1, Pl. XXXI).[74] Originally made of olive or laurel twigs, the *aspergillum* was a ritual object used in libations, for example at the consecration of a temple or more frequently before offering sacrifice, when the officiant sprinkled his hands and body with water. Its frequent representation on altars shows its ritual importance but here at Tarraco it plainly appears as an attribute of the provincial priest, for whom it was a prerequisite for cultic purposes. It is of particular significance in the present context for the way it confirms the place of sacrifice in provincial cult.[75]

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[70] Vol. II, 1, 517.

[71] Vols. I, 1, 133, n. 248; II, 1, 516, n. 261, noting the contrary view of L. R. Taylor. See further below, pp. 361–4.

[72] Vol. I, 1, 133, n. 246 with Pl. XIX.

One particular source of evidence worth exploiting in this connection is the iconography of inscriptions and monuments to provincial priests, particularly the bases that supported their honorific statues, yet the evidence these preserve is surprisingly meagre. Certainly there is nothing to compare, say, with the panoply of ritual implements—*urceus, securis, patera et al.*—that are represented on the large base of a statue to Neptunus at Buda Vetus set up by C. Iulius Geminus Capellanus, *leg. Aug. pr. pr.* of Lower Pannonia (*CIL* 3, 3486; A.D. 145/60). It is true that a *patera* is displayed on either side of a dedication to Hercules Augustus set up by the *sacerdos* Reginus at Apulum (*CIL* 3, 7751) but we have seen that that Mommsen is probably incorrect in taking this to record a provincial priest.[76] In practice this category of evidence appears limited to the sacred utensils sculpted on the base of a statue at Sexti, the front of which bears a dedication by the Aemilii, Ligurius, Italicus and Delius, to their patron and exceptional friend C. Aemilius Niger Annius Arvacus (*ILPGr* 8; Vol. III, 2, Pl. 61).[77]

Of immediate relevance for present purposes is that the side faces of the monument show to the left an *urceus* with a single handle, to the right a *patera* sketched by concentric circles (Pl. 143a, b).[78] These ritual objects served a variety of purposes. The *urceus* was essentially a jug that is often depicted with other utensils, particularly the *patera*,

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[73] Vol. II, 1, 504–5 with Pl. LXXIVb, c. See further Vol. II, 1, 525–7.

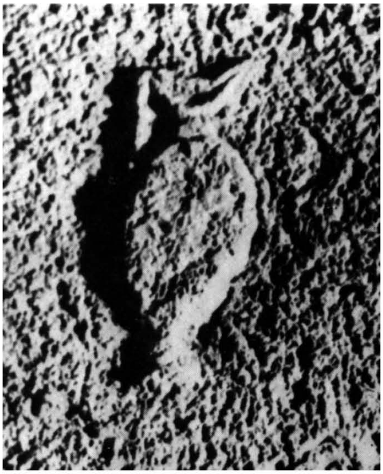
[74] *Ibid.*, cf. Vol. I, 1, 154 with Pls. XXXI–IIa, cf. Vol. II, 1, 504.

[75] Siebert (1999) 110–15 with Abb. 4, 260–1, 312–13.

[76] Vol. III, 1, 175–6. For *instrumenta sacra* on municipal monuments see Vol. II, 1, 504–5 with Pl. XCII a-d.

[77] Vol. III, 2, 215–17, 233, 244.

[78] Etienne (1999) 142.



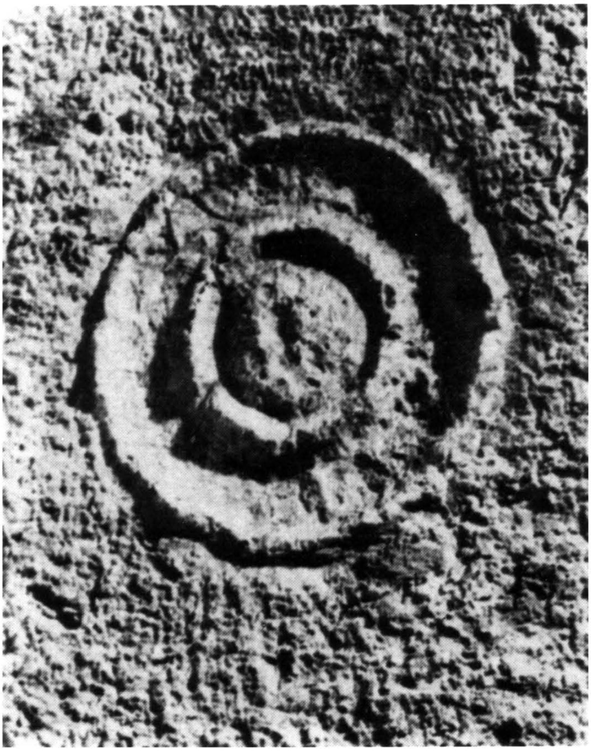


Plate 143a, b. *Urceus* and *patera* on monument of C. Aemilius Niger Annius Arvacus, provincial priest of Baetica, Almuñécar.

for use at sacrifices. Because of its long neck it was principally used, especially by younger assistants at sacrifices, for washing the hands but could serve the same purpose at meals.[79] The *patera* was employed in performing libations, the pouring of wine on an altar, which with the offering of incense constituted the rite of *supplicatio*[80] whether as an independant rite or as a preliminary to sacrifice, also for pouring wine between the horns of a victim and strewing *mola salsa*, the preliminary act of dedication known as *immolatio*. We have seen (above, pp. 248–9) that the rite is prescribed, for example, among the regulations for the veneration of the *numen* of Augustus both at Narbo (*CIL* 12, 4333) and at Forum Clodii (*CIL* 11, 3303), also that a supplication regularly preceded the offering of a victim.[81] The *patera* might also be used to catch the blood from a victim, as a cup from which the officiant drank, as table ware at communal meals following animal sacrifice, or even as an offering donated at a temple.[82] Quite clearly, then, what we have here is unequivocal evidence that on specific anniversaries the provincial priest of Baetica performed both supplications and animal sacrifice. Limited though it is, this iconographic testimony directly confirms the place of animal sacrifice among the rites performed by the priest in the provincial cult of Baetica and inferentially that of other western provinces as well.

## iii. Taurobolia

If the place of supplications and sacrifices within provincial worship must largely be inferred from minimal evidence, a rite that belongs to a very different cult, that of Magna Mater or Cybele, has left distinct traces in the records of one, possibly two provincial priests at Narbo; this is presumably a fraction of the evidence that once existed. A lost stone originating from the east sector of the ramparts between the bastions of St. Francis and St. Cosmas at Narbonne, where it had been re-used, reportedly bore representations of the head of a ram and a bull, clear confirmation therefore that the relic must have been a taurobolic altar.[83] The tralatician text records that C. Batonius

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[79] Siebert (1999) 32, 37, 92, 167, 179, 191, 240.

[80] Vol. II, 1, 503–4 with Pl. XCIa-b.

[81] Vol. II, 1, 502–3 with n. 170 and refs.; cf. 507–8, 595.

[82] Siebert (1999) 40–4, 228–31, cf. 135–6, noting that the *patera* was the symbol of the *VIIviri epulones*.

[83] Gayraud (1981) 272, 403; Turcan (1986) 485.

Primus, priest of the two Augusti, performed a *taurobolium* by order of the Mother of the Gods for the well-being of the emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla. The end of the text is missing, why is unclear as the stone is not reported to have been broken. It seems unlikely that the name of the *sacerdos* who carried out the technical procedure originally stood here,[84] as this detail is frequently missing on similar taurobolic altars, so Dessau may be right in suggesting that the missing part of the text included the name of Geta, which had been erased as commonly elsewhere. At all events the text is clearly dated to the double rule of A.D. 190–210:[85]

> *Imperio D(eum) M(atris) tauro|polium* (sic) *provinciae* | (caput arietis, caput bovis) | *Narbonensis* | *factum per C(aium) Batonium* | *Primum flaminem Augg(ustorum)* | *pro salute dominorum* | *Impp(eratorum) L(ucii) Septimi Severi* | *Pii Pertinacis Aug(usti) Ara|bici Adiabenici Parthi|ci Maximi et M(arci) Aureli* | *Ant(onini) Aug(usti)* [—]
>
> *CIL* 12, 4323 = *ILS* 4120 = Duthoy (1969) no. 96

A similar record of a *taurobolium* of the province, undoubtedly Narbonensis, is in all probablility to be recognized in a very fragmentary text at Narbo, only two words of which are known:

> *Tauropolium provinciae* *CIL* 13, 4329 = Duthoy (1969) no. 102

It seems a reasonable inference that in this case too a *taurobolium* in the name of the province will have been celebrated by the provincial priest but, in view of the minimal information that has been preserved, discussion of the relationship of the rite to provincial ruler cult is necessarily restricted to the record of the rite performed by C. Batonius Primus.

The background of these texts is the widespread penetration of the cult of Cybele and Attis into Gaul, where more than sixty taurobolic altars have been preserved, more than in any other region of the entire Roman empire.[86] The first evidence of the Phrygian religion dates from the Antonine period, after which the cult became a craze for more than a century, traces in rural areas lasting until late antiquity. In Narbonensis itself *taurobolia* multiply in the late Antonine period and under the Severi with metroac clergy particularly active in southern Gaul from A.D. 160–260.[87] The earliest dated evidence is the rite documented on an altar at Lugdunum (*CIL* 13, 1751 = Duthoy, 1969, no. 126: 9th December, A.D. 160). This records that L. Aemilius Carpus, who was both *sevir Augustalis* and *dendrophorus*, performed a *taurobolium* for the *salus* of Antonius Pius, his children and the colony of Lugdunum; participating in this exceptional rite was the first metroac priest (*archigallus*?[88]) of Lugdunum, Q. Sammius Secundus, who was consecrated by the *XVviri sacris faciundis* and granted the collar (*occabus*) and crown. The likeliest interpretation of this text is that the *taurobolium* was actually celebrated at the Phrygian centre on the Vatican hill in Rome, the idea of a *taurobolium pro salute* having been prompted by the deteriorating health of Antonius Pius, who died in March, A.D. 161.[89] But the plain fact that the rite was carried out by two officiants from Lugdunum could well suggest that the cult had taken root in Gaul some time previously, as possibly documented by several undated *taurobolia*. In any event the important point for immediate purposes is that the metroac cult was linked with imperial loyalty through the *taurobolium* for the emperor's well-being. Exaltation of the monarch promoted in turn the metroac cult so that the latter became closely associated with the imperial religion. In practice therefore the imperial cult at both the provincial and municipal levels reinforced the cult of Magna Mater rather than competed with it.[90] As the epigraphic evidence shows, the *seviri Augustales* in particular contributed to the vitality of the Phrygian religion.[91]

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[84] Turcan (1986) 492, takes the Narbonnese text to have omitted mention of the priest.

[85] For the continuation of the double rule to 210 rather than 209 see Vol. I, 2, 318, n. 11; Fishwick, *Numinibus* (1994) 128, n. 4, citing Di Vita-Évrard (1991) 116; cf. Birley (1988) 186–7, 218.

[86] Duthoy (1969) 1, 37–53, nos. 80–132; Vermaseren (1977) 131–8. For the implantation of the cult of Cybele and Attis in the valley of the Rhône see Turcan (1972) 48ff. See, for example, *CIL* 13, 1752; Vol. II, 1, LXXVIa.

For present purposes prime importance attaches to the record at Narbo of the *taurobolium* performed in the name of the province by order of the Mother of the Gods.[92] A preliminary question arises from the use of the word *fecit*: *tauropolium* … *factum per C. Batonium Primum*. The word has been variously translated in the past, but in his analysis of the verb in connection with the rite Duthoy concludes that, when the inscription refers to the performance of a *taurobolium* by a group of dedicators,[93] the term must be construed "to have a *taurobolium* celebrated".[94] As *taurobolia* were sacrifices, *facere* means in effect, therefore, "to have a sacrifice performed", a sense occasionally supported by the term *sacrum*.[95] The neutral word "performed" seems best to cover the procedure as a whole,[96] the actual sacrifice being made by the metroac *sacerdos*, whose participation in the rite is sometimes recorded, sometimes not. What the term clearly does not mean in *CIL* 12, 4323 is that the provincial *flamen Augg.* himself sacrificed a bull for the *salus* of the emperor.

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[87] Turcan (1986) 489 with n. 286, 492; *id.* (1992) 64–7.

[88] Turcan (1972) 94.

[89] For full discussion see Turcan (1972) 83–8; *id.* (1986) 490; (1992) 55, 66. On the *Phrygianum* constructed on the Vatican (just in front of the present basilica of St. Peter) and the "ordination" there of *archigalli* see *id.* (1992) 57.

[90] Turcan (1986) 492, cf. 490, n. 295.

[91] Turcan, Culte impérial (1978) 1057; *id.* (1986) 490–1. On the title *dendrophorus augustalis* see Turcan (1972) 82–3, cf. 89.

[92] For the term *mater deum* see Duthoy (1969) 63–5.

A second point of interest is the initial formula recording that the *taurobolium* was performed *imperio Deum Matris*.[97] In the early stages of the rite large numbers of *taurobolia* are recorded to have been made *ex iussu* or *ex imperio D. M.*,[98] yet the precise way in which the goddess made her wishes known is unclear. Cybele might have given orders in a dream, for example, either to the devotee or to a local priest, who had then intimated that a *taurobolium* was appropriate or required. On any interpretation such expressions clearly place *taurobolia* in the context of sacrifices, so necessarily imply the existence of metroac clergy. For even if the devotee had been personally alerted by Cybele, this notification needed to be authenticated by a local representative of the Phrygian cult.

The most important feature of all, however, is that the *taurobolium* was carried out on behalf of the two Augusti. Similar expressions occur in numerous inscriptions[99] and we have seen that the oldest example of the rite in the Gauls is the *taurobolium* at Lugdunum in A.D. 160. Duthoy places the incorporation of the *taurobolium* within the cult of Cybele under Antoninus Pius, to whom he attributes the introduction of the rite of the *taurobolium pro salute*.[100] While it is clear that his reign coincided with the heyday of the Phrygian religion in Gaul,[101] the possibility nevertheless remains that the cult had established a foothold previously, even though statistically most known *taurobolia pro salute imperatoris* belong to the later Antonine-Severan period. A *taurobolium* for the *salus* of the emperor refers in the first place to his personal health, but in practice became a sacrifice on behalf of his general welfare and consequently that of the empire since the latter depended on the former—in effect, therefore, a demonstration of loyalty.[102] This clearly discloses the link between the rite and the cult of the emperor, an association firmly attested at the provincial level by the Narbo record.

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[93] These could include, for example, an *ordo* (*CIL* 13, 511 = Duthoy, *o.c.* no. 109), a *respublica* (*CIL* 13, 520 = Duthoy no. 118), a community (*CIL* 12, 4321 = Duthoy no. 94).

[94] Duthoy, *o.c.* 77–83; cf. Turcan (1986) 485, 491, taking the Narbo text to mean "présidait", "fit célébrer".

[95] Cf. *CIL* 12, 357, 1567 = Duthoy, *o.c.* nos. 81, 83.

[96] Duthoy, *o.c.* 98; Vol. III, 2, 157, cf. 172. The formulation "sacrificed the *taurobolium* to Magna Mater", as in Beard–North–Price (1998) 348 is clearly unhappy.

[97] Turcan (1986) 484–5, 492–3.

[98] Duthoy, *o.c.* 66, 95.

[99] Duthoy, *o.c.* 66–71; Turcan, Culte impérial (1978) 1057.

[100] *Id., o.c.* 116–17. Doubted by Turcan (1986) 490–1; *id.* (1992) 55, 343, n. 72.

A *taurobolium* was celebrated under various circumstances and at different times of the year with great solemnity,[103] if without a uniform liturgy, and sometimes, perhaps frequently, occupied more than one day, not that this circumstance was necesarily recorded in the commemorative epigraph.[104] The rite was performed by the priest, occasionally mentioned in the ablative of circumstance,[105] though we have seen that this may not have been the case in the Narbo text. Whether a pretended hunt preceded the act of sacrifice is unknown but the victim was struck by a hooked knife or sword (Pl. 144) to the accompaniment of music played by a *tibicen*.[106] Duthoy distinguishes several phases of the *taurobolium*, an analysis open to various objections,[107] but it is at least clear that the first stage consisted of the sacrifice of a bull and was distinguished from other such sacrifices by its special name, its occurrence within the cult of Cybele, apparently also by the rite of the *vires*, which were removed from the animal, dedicated to Mater Deum, then buried under an altar.[108] The excision of these, it has been suggested, may have replaced the emasculation of the metroac Gallus, in which case the *taurobolium* was in effect a substitute sacrifice.[109] On the interpretation of Turcan the ceremony at Rome which is recorded at Lugdunum in A.D. 160 already included the baptism of blood, later described by Firmicus Maternus (*De errore prof. rel.* 27, 8) and famously by Prudentius

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[101] Turcan (1986) 491–2.

[102] Duthoy, *o.c.* 71; Turcan (1972) 91; *id.*, Culte impérial (1978) 1057. See further below, pp. 357–8.

[103] Turcan (1972) 92, citing *CIL* 13, 1754 with its mention of an *apparator*.

[104] Turcan (1986) 492–4.

[105] Turcan (1972) 84.

[106] Turcan (1986) 494; *id.*, Cultes (1992) 55.

[107] Duthoy (1969) 93–111; Turcan (1972) 85, n. 1; *id.* (1986) 489–90.

[108] Duthoy, *o.c.* 95, 126; Turcan (1986) 490.

[109] Turcan (1972) 84; *id.* (1986) 493 with n. 322, citing *CIL* 13, 510.

(*Perist.*, hymn 10, 1006–1050),[110] and was followed by a nocturnal rite (*mesonyctium*), perhaps of initiation.[111] A subsequent development is that it became common for the *taurobolium* to be associated with the sacrifice of a ram (*criobolium*), from which one likewise removed the *vires* in a similar rite of substitution;[112] the representation of the two animals in *CIL* 12, 4323 suggests that this was the case at Narbo. On the other hand there seems to be nothing to support the claim that the *criobolium* honoured Attis,[113] nor is there anything to show that the ceremony of the *taurobolium* included mysteries.[114] All in all, a *taurobolium* in the name of the province was an exceptional event, a fact that explains why it has left epigraphic records at Narbo, where the rite is well attested.[115] In contrast the standard rites of provincial cults, celebrated every few days throughout the liturgical year, have very largely escaped epigraphical mention.

Lastly, taurobolic altars of the kind that evidently survived at Narbo took a variety of forms. Turcan has contributed a useful survey of these,[116] showing that many are commemorative *cippi* that never had the appearance of altars, the crowns of which might have been lost in the process of re-use, while others look superficially like altars but could never have served functionally as such. The most important category comprises monuments that have a *focus* with gutters alongside, ostensibly to drain the blood from the slaughtered victim. Yet even these structures could not have served for the sacrifice of a bull as in the Roman period the animal was dispatched at the foot of the altar, on which just part of the blood was poured, and only the *exta* were burned on the *focus*. These monuments too, then, were erected simply as memorials of a rite performed earlier. A few are low enough to have accommodated libations or the burning of flowers or incense, say, at the liturgical inauguration of the altar, but certainly not the *taurobolium* itself.

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[110] For full discussion and justification see Turcan (1972) 84–5, 88; *id.*, Cultes (1992) 55–7.

[111] Turcan (1972) 84, 124–7; *id.* (1986) 494; Cultes (1992) 66; Vermsaseren (1977) 134–5.

[112] Turcan (1986) 493; *id.*, Cultes (1992) 57–8.

[113] Duthoy (1969) 61–2; Turcan (1986) 493.

[114] Turcan, *o.c.* 494.

[115] See the evidence collected by Duthoy (1969) 42–4, nos. 94–102.

[116] *Id.* (1972) 128–31.

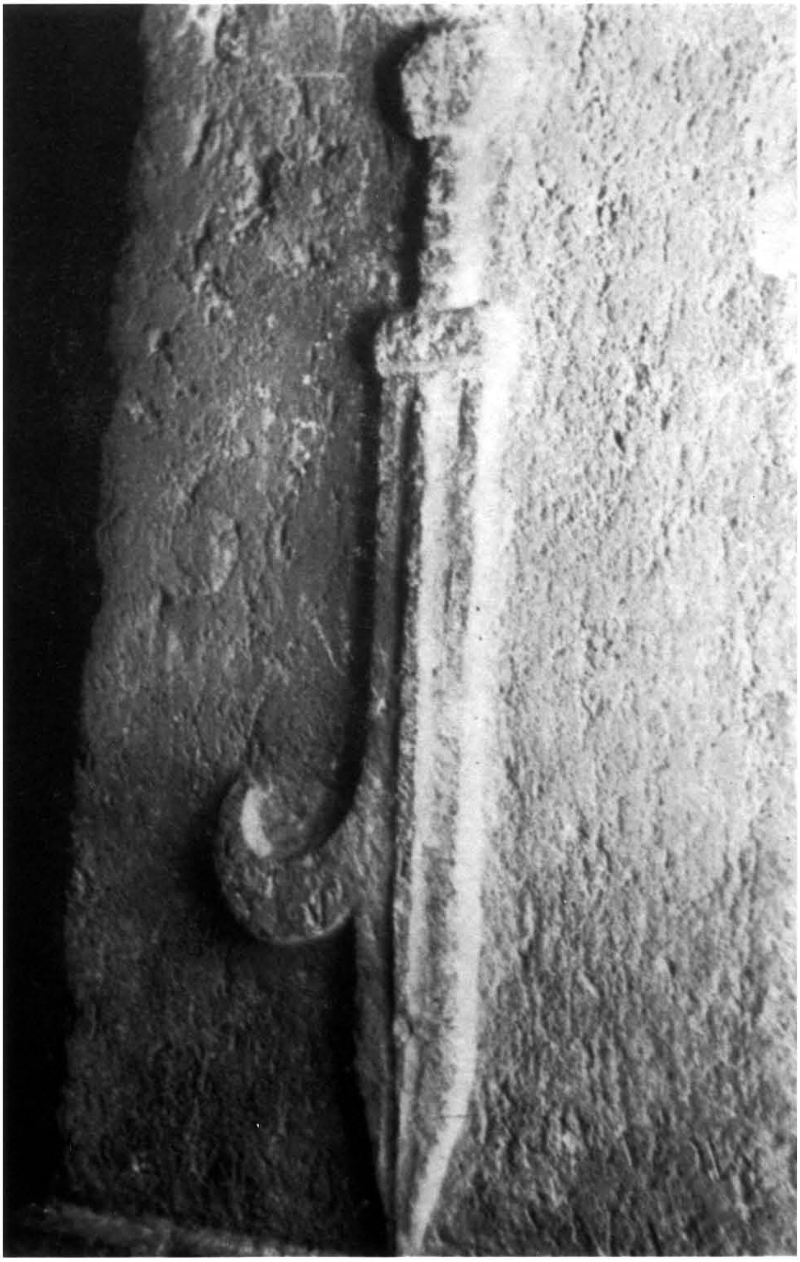

Plate 144. Hooked knife sculpted on taurobolic altar of A.D. 160, found beside temple of Cybele at Lyon.

What form the altar found at Narbo might have taken seems not to have been documented in the manuscript tradition but an instructive comparison can be drawn with the taurobolic altar that was dedicated at Vesunna (Périgueux) to the *numina Augustorum* and Magna Mater Deum Augusta by L. Pomponius Paternus, son of Sextus Pomponius Postumus, *sacerdos arensis*:

> *Numinib(us) Aug(ustorum) | et Magn⟨a⟩e Matri D(eum) | Aug(ustae) L(ucius) Pompon(ius) Sext(i) | Pompon(i) Paterni | sacerd(otis) arens(is) fil(ius) Quir(ina) | Paternus aram taurob(olicam) | posuit dedicavit|que.*
>
> *ILA, Pétrucores* 9 = Duthoy (1969) no. 125; Vol. III, 2, Pl. 28

Plainly commemorative, the altar with its inscription has now been sumptuously published in the latest fascicule of *ILA* and is of interest for its cornice surmounted by a tablet with stylised bands and the remains of a *fastigium*, also for its sculpted *ornamenta* relating to the *taurobolium*, *criobolium* and the cult of Cybele and Attis (Pl. 145).[117]

It was earlier suggested that the date of this text *might* be late second-century or even third-century,[118] in which case a local monument of the Petrucorii at Vesunna would have continued to use the anachronistic priestly title *sacerdos arensis*, a formula outdated by completion of the federal temple at the Lugdunum sanctuary about the close of Hadrian's reign.[119] In light of the revised catalogue of the priests of Tres Galliae,[120] however, this proposal now looks unlikely, given that federal titles recorded locally at other centres appear to have faithfully reflected the formula of the priestly titulature *currently* in use at the Confluence.[121] Whether the title *sacerdos arensis* itself appears elsewhere is debatable; a possible example at Argenteuil-sur-Creuse is too fragmentary for one to tell.[122] The abundant use of ligatures is certainly widespread at the turn of the second century but the practice was already common under the Antonines with a scattering of examples in the first century and rare traces even under the Republic; simple ligatures such as ET, ER, NT or AE are frequent from the first century.[123] Similarly the form *numinibus Augustorum*—that is, "to the divine powers of the reigning emperor or

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[117] Turcan, Cultes (1992) 67 with Pl. VI.

[118] Vol. I, 2, 366, n. 28.

[119] Vol. I, 2, 308–16; Chastagnol (1995) 597 with n. 26.

[120] Vol. III, 2, 60–8.

[121] *Ibid.* nos. 2A, 3, 6B, 7B, 11, 12, 13A, 15A, 22, 23, 25, 26, 33(?).

[122] Vol. III, 2, 62, no. 11.

[123] Meyer (1973) 42; Almar (1990) 39–42, 386. I am indebted to G. Alföldy for a helpful letter on the point.

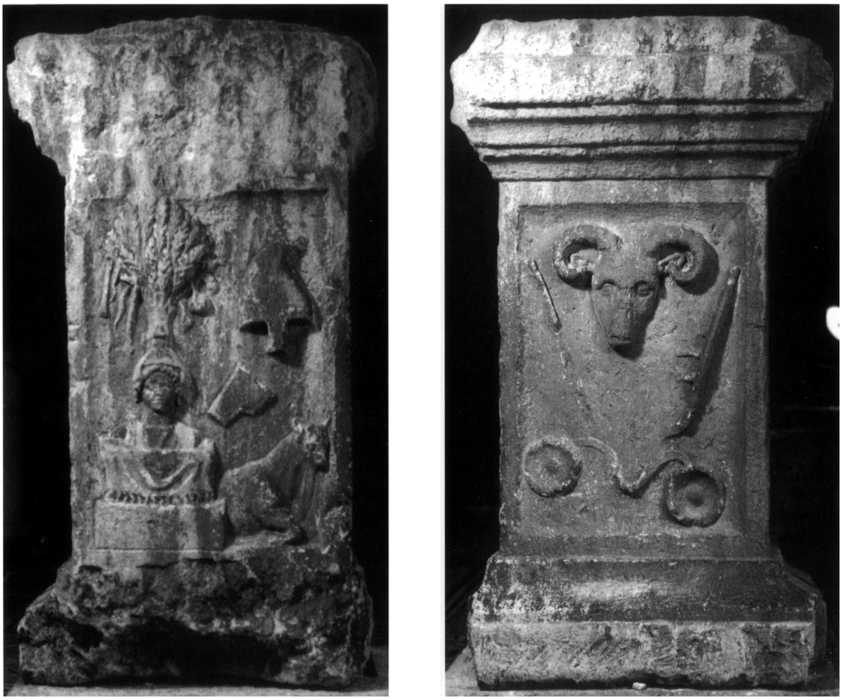

Plate 145. Taurobolic altar at Vessuna illustrating
symbols and paraphernalia of cult of Magna Mater.

emperors in company with deified deceased rulers"—while prevalent at the close of the second century, begins already under Hadrian.[124] The main criteria for chronological purposes are consequently the priestly title *sacerdos arensis*, which must antedate the time when the Hadrianic federal temple was put into cultic service and the rite of the *taurobolium* itself. As noted above (pp. 261–2), the earliest dated example is at Lugdunum in A.D. 160 but nothing excludes the possibility that the rite had taken root earlier in Gaul.

In view of these considerations, then, it seems reasonable to date the inscribed taurobolic altar at Vesunna to about the second half of the second century, somewhat earlier than the period proposed by the editors (A.D. 180/250).[125] Whatever the precise date may have been, the association of the *numina Augustorum* with Magna Mater Deum Augusta underlines the close connection between the imperial cult and the cult of Magna Mater, a tie repeated in dedications (below, p. 302). At Narbo

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[124] Vol. II, 1, 390–1, 416; Fishwick, *Numen* (1992) 89; Chastagnol (1995) 596. The proposed completion [*numinib(us)*] *Augusti* ... (*CIL* 13, 949) in *id.*, *o.c.* 597, n. 28, is not possible as one ruler can have one *numen* only. In the plural *numen* can be attributed in the singular (collectively) or plural (distributively) to the Augusti, whatever the significance of this term: Vol. II, 1, 397–401.

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[125] Similar considerations suggest an earlier date for a dedication from Vessuna set up to Deus Apollo Cobledulitavus by M. Pompeius Libo, son of C. Pompeius Sanctus, both of whom are designated *sacerdos arensis*. The pertinent features of this text are admirably set out in *ILA, Pétrucores* 16; at issue is only the proposed date of A.D. 171/240. The editors reject the opinion of Hirschfeld "litteris optimis saeculi primi" (cf. Vol. I, 2, 363, n. 12) in favour of the judgement of Taillefer (1821) 295, n.1, that the lettering points to the early years of the third century. Yet if one may judge from the examples of monumental script given by Meyer (1973) 39 or Almar (1990) 26–8, for example, the lettering of the Vessuna text does not look distinctively Severan. As noted above, ligatures were in vogue much earlier, while the use of *deus / dea* with the name of a deity is placed by Raepsaet-Charlier (1993) 12–15, as early as Hadrian (cf. the commentary *ad ILA, Pétrucores* 12), by Chastagnol (1995) 600, nn. 44, 46, already in the first century. Above all, the title *sacerdos arensis* points to a priesthood served before completion of the temple of the Three Gauls. To date the federal priesthood of M. Pompeius Libo, like that of his father, to the period Vespasian—Hadrian looks obligatory therefore. How soon after tenure the dedication to Deus Apollo Cobledulitavus will have been set up at Vesunna is impossible to say but a date somewhere in the later-first or second century looks secure.

It may be recalled here that three generations of the Pompeii are honoured on a monument set up *publice* at the Confluence by the Petrucorii in honour of C. Pompeius Sanctus, son of M. Pompeius Libo and grandson of C. Pompeius Sanctus (*CIL* 13, 1704; Vol. III, 2, 62–3, nos. 6, 7, 8). It was earlier observed (Vol. I, 2, 363, n. 12) that the grandson was apparently not a provincial priest—the inscription does not record him as such—but on reconsideration it is difficult to see why a monument in his and his daughter's honour should be set up publicly by the Petrucorii at the federal centre by Lugdunum (rather than at Vessuna, say) if he had not in fact brought honour on his *civitas* by holding the prestigious priesthood of the Three Gauls. The effect of the record would otherwise have been to compare him unfavourably with his father and grandfather. That he was or recently had been a federal *sacerdos* looks in any case confirmed by the fact that the large square stone bearing his record is part of a stylobate, the standard base of familial momuments honouring federal priests at the Confluence (Vol. III, 2, 20–4). Presumably the fact that his office was self-evident from the nature and location of his monument explains why he is not explicitly identified as a federal priest. Significantly, neither are his father or grandfather, who at Vesunna have the title *sacerdos arensis* (*ILA, Pétrucores* 16) yet here at the Confluence are styled simply *sacerdos*; the inference that they are federal priests turns solely on the location of the monument at the Lugdunum sanctuary. Omission of the obvious status of C. Pompeius Sanctus would have saved unnecessary expenditure, of course, just as would the abbreviation of the titles of his *pater* and *avus*. Similar cases of federal priests who have a shortened title at the Confluence occur occasionally (Vol. I, 2, 362, n. 13; III, 1, 36, n. 125; III, 2, 26, cf. 61, nos. 2, 4). That expense could have been an item is further suggested by the circumstance that the monument also honoured Pompeia Sabina, the daughter of C. Pompeius Sanctus *nepos*; presumably likenesses of both of these (along with other members of the family ?) will have stood on the huge base. At all events on the above argument the federal priesthood of C. Pompeius Sanctus *nepos* the fact that the provincial priest of Gallia Narbonensis has himself presided over a *taurobolium* for the welfare of Septimius Severus and Caracalla explains why this was an extraordinary rite worth recording. The same point applies to the fragmentary second text.

### iv. *Processions*

The role of processions in Graeco-Roman ritual has already been sketched in outline.[126] We have seen that in Egypt the Ptolemaic custom of marking special occasions by the transportation of statues of the gods accompanied by images of the ruler continued without break into the Roman period, when it is attested under the Julio-Claudians and particularly the Severi. In Asia, where a well-known Hellenistic prototype occurs at Nemrud Dag, the best known example of the Roman period is the cortege at Ephesus that included gold-bearers carrying type statues and imperial images on particular occasions of the liturgical year. Similarly in Greece processions with the transportation of imperial images were a distinguishing mark of the rites marking imperial festivals, responsibility for which lay with the current *archiereus*.[127] The key evidence here is a Tiberian inscription (*SEG* 11, 1950, 922–3 = *AE*, 1929, 99–100) recording regulations for the celebration of the Caesarea at Gytheum under Tiberius.[128] On each of the five days of the festival painted *eikones*[129] of Divus Augustus, Livia and Tiberius were to

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appears datable to the period before completion of the federal temple (Vol. III, 2, 62, no. 8). The first-century lettering recognized by Hirschfeld could of course have been used well into the second century.

A final point that can now be added in light of the convincing reconstruction of the text (*ILA, Pétrucores* 18) is that a new federal priest is probably to be identified in a badly damaged dedication at Vesunna (*CIL* 13, 11047b, c, a). Of the sacerdotal title only the letters *sacẹ[* have been preserved, but as the municipal priest was termed *flamen* (cf. *ILA, Pétrucores* 13, 47) the inference of the editors that one should restore *sacẹ[rdotis arensis?* looks compelling. On the proposed reading the dedication will have been made to the *numina Augustorum* and *Redux Fortuna* by a federal priest, in which case the text records a further member of the Petrucorii who served at the Confluence. If the restitution *arensis* is correct, his priestly term will have fallen before completion of the temple of the Three Gauls, but on any restoration this new priesthood should be added to the roster of federal *sacerdotes* in Vol. III, 2, 60–8. See Vol. III, 4, Addenda.

[126] Vol. II, 1, 550–66. For the background of imperial festivals in the eastern provinces from the Classical to the Roman period see now Hertz (1997) 239–45.

[127] Hertz (1997) 246.

[128] For a translation of the text see Hertz, *o.c.* 245–6. See further Vol. II, 1, 514 with refs., 552; Witschel, Marc Aurel (1995) 258, 261, n. 30; Van Andringa (2000) 33.

[129] Witschel, *o.c.* 261, n. 32 with refs.

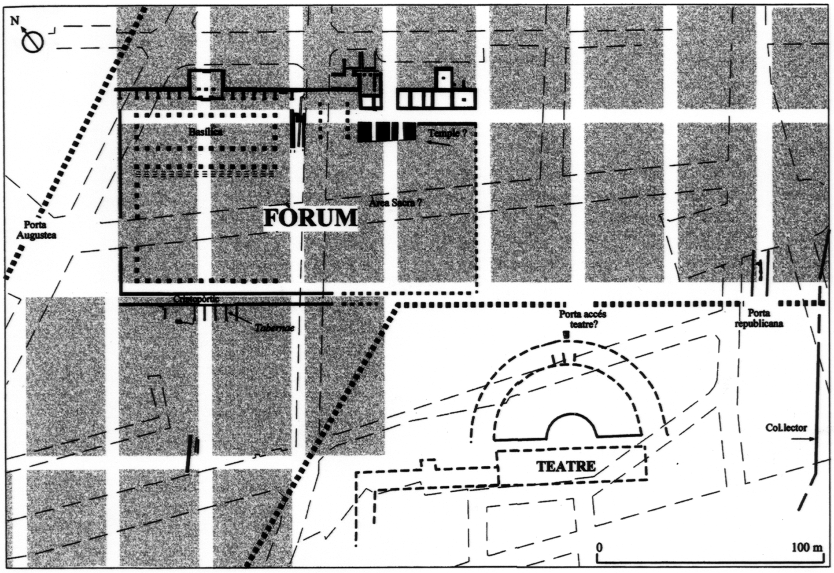

Plate 146. Hypothetical plan of civic theatre by colonial forum at Tarraco, late first century A.D.

be borne from the temple of Asklepios and Hygieia first to the imperial shrine, where the ephors sacrificed a bull, and from there, following a similar sacrifice in the *agora* by the clubs and the magistrates, to the theatre, where they were set on bases; the city notables then offered incense on a table placed in front. The circumstance that the sacrifices at the Kaisareion and the theatre, if not also in the main square, were for the well-being of the rulers looks predestined by the departure of the cortege from the temple of the deities of health.[130]

In Italy, where *pompae* were a standard feature of Roman ritual, the key development for present purposes is the inclusion of the emperor's likeness, shield, chair or other symbols within such processions; similar honours were accorded other members of the *domus imperatoria*. Curiously, in the cortege marking the Romaia Sebasta at Naples there is no explicit record that the imperial image was transported to the Caesareum, where sacrifice was made to the emperor,[131] but further west a close parallel to the procedure at Gytheum is evoked by the architectural remains of the temple-theatre complex at Aventicum (Vol. II, 1,

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[130] Witschel, *o.c.* 261, n. 31.

[131] Vol. II, 1, 510 with n. 224, 556.

Pls. XCVIIIa, CI, CIIIc).[132] Apparently a procession lead from the temple along a sacred way to the theatre, the rear face of which is alligned longitudinally and of equal dimensions with the south end of the temple.[133] In his fundamental analysis R. Étienne proposes more specifically that the procession will have left from the *cella*, perhaps dividing to pass along the sides of the surrounding portico, the tiered steps of which would have been crowded with spectators.[134] On the twelve-metre wide, fifty-three metre long, tiled pathway leading from the steps of the temple to the entrance of the *temenos* stood what is probably a large altar placed some thirty-three metres from the *podium*.[135] Presumably the wings of the procession would have met on the far side of the *temenos*, comfortably close to the altar, then after sacrifice proceeded along the rest of the processional way (no trace of which remains) across a open space to the *valva regia* of the theatre, which coincided with the axis of the sanctuary. It was presumably here at the theatre that the mass of the townsfolk will have gathered. If the same procedure was followed as at Gytheum, futher rites will have taken place before the portable images prior to the commencement of scenic games. Eventually the cortege would have returned by the same route, dividing at the entrance to the *temenos* to avoid the central altar and arriving at the *cella* steps via the side porticoes. Whatever the precise details at Aventicum, the staging of a solemn cortege much like that at Gytheum looks very probable, especially when the gold bust of an aged Marcus Aurelius(?), found in 1939 in a nearby drain crossing the court of the Cigognier sanctuary, points to the carrying of imperial images (below, p. 282).[136]

At the provincial level, the main focus of the present discussion, a somewhat similar architectonic scheme to that at Aventicum occurs at the provincial sanctuary at Tarraco, where the longitudinal axis leads from the temple across the *temenos*, down a flight of steps to the middle level, then straight to the monumental stairway giving access to the circus (above, p. 20 with Pls. 74–5). It seems very possible that just as at Aventicum a solemn procession will on appropriate occasions have made its way to the circus, alternatively to the amphitheatre located on a lower slope to the southwest of the sanctuary or to the theatre situated southwest of the colonial forum (Pl. 146).[137] Entertainment in one form or another must have been a prominent feature of the principal festivals marking the liturgical year, so have occasioned solemn processions to whichever facility was in use that particular day. A recent report on excavations on the middle "representation" plaza of the sanctuary hypothesizes that a procession of dignitaries (past priests as well as present?), their attendants, and representatives of the imperial power will have proceeded along the upper porticos of the central forum to meet at the altar before the temple standing at the centre back of the upper level of the sanctuary.[138] Following sacrifice at the altar, the procession will have decended from the *tememos* by way of the staircase, then along a *via triumphalis* directly across the middle of the forum to the circus (Pl. 147). As at Aventicum, the scene will have unfolded before the eyes of spectators, in this case a public formed of the provincial elite. On days when games were held at the amphitheatre, in contrast, the procession will necessarily have departed from the sanctuary by one of the lower portals and the same procedure holds for parades to the theatre.

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[132] Étienne (1985) 7–16. For a detailed picture see recently Witschel, *o.c.* 257.

[133] Vol. II, 1, 523, 559–60; Trunk (1991) 175ff.

[134] Etienne, *o.c.* 15 with n. 71, recalling Hellenistic ceremonial and the rites at the *ludi saeculares* of 17 B.C. For the choir of young boys and girls who performed Horace's *carmen saeculare*—apparently after the completion of ceremonies rather than as a procession song—see in general Fraenkel (1957) 379–82.

[135] Vol. II, 1, 560. Trunk (1991) 178, reaches the same conclusion independently.

[136] Etienne, *o.c.* 15 with n. 72; Witschel, Marc Aurel (1995) 259, n. 1 with refs. See *id.*, *o.c.* 258 for the suggestion that the gold bust of Marcus Aurelius(?) will have been placed by the altar so that sacrifice was in practice directed to this as well as to the cult statue in the temple *cella*.

The only other centre where a procession can be provisionally reconstructed is at Lugdunum. The principal comparison here is with the lay-out at Amiens, where the civic amphitheatre connects on its east side with the west end of the forum and its imperial temple (Vol. II, 1, Pl. CIIIb). A narrow *vomitarium*, twenty four metres long by three and a half metres wide, provides an oblique inclined access to the arena, where processions would have arrived before the tribunal of the *editor muneris*, the architectonic scheme thus emphasizing the ritual link between the amphitheatre and the temple.[139] Similarly at Lugdunum the amphitheatre lies immediately adjacent to the west side of the inclined promontory of Rue Bourdeau, at the summit of which the Altar of the Three Gauls is thought to have stood immediately before the federal temple. As noted above (p. 108 with Pl. 106), the slopes leading downwards east and west would have been ideally suited for

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[137] Vols. I, 1, Pl. XXXV; II, 1, Pls. CVI–CVIII.

[138] Pociña–Remolà (2000) 35.

[139] Étienne (1985) 24 with figs. 14, 22; Vol. II, 1, 559.

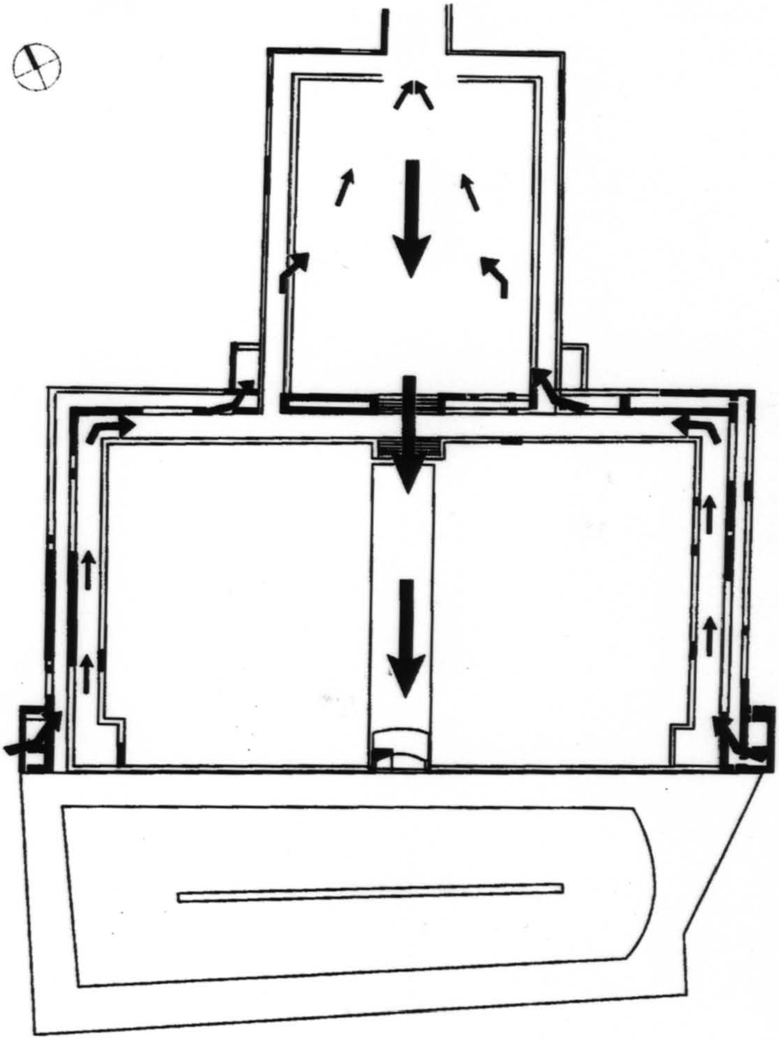

Plate 147. Hypthetical route of processions at provincial sanctuary of Tarraco.

staging processions that departed from either side of the altar before combining at the foor of the promontory to enter the amphitheatre via *vomitaria* leading to the tribunal.[140] Elsewhere in the western provinces the amphitheatre, circus or theatre lie further from the provincial centre as a rule (cf. Vol. II, 1, Pls. CIX, CX)—the theatre contiguous to the Camulodunum centre is an exception (above, p. 147)—but at these provincial sites too a procession similarly leading from the altar before the provincial temple[141] to the appropriate facility looks a reasonable inference.[142]

## v. statuae imaginesve

One feature of processions that is of particular interest for present purposes is the transportation of images by special bearers. We have seen that in Egypt imperial likenesses along with a cult image of the god were carried in the festive processions that met high officials or a member of the imperial family and that on imperial birthdays a similar cortege proceeded to the theatre of Arsinoe, for example. Portable imperial statues were an integral part of the festivities at Gytheum, Ephesus and Oinoanda and are the subject of explicit instructions from the emperors to the *gerousia* of both Athens and Ephesus, while bearers of imperial busts with names ending in *-phoros* are attested at Athens and elsewhere in Greece; typical examples are the *chrystophoroi* of the Artemis cult at Ephesus or the *sebastophoroi* who bore representations of the emperor at various centres.[143] As for the rites performed before such images in Greek ritual, it is clear that at Gytheum an offering was made before images of Augustus, Livia and Tiberius, which were set in the middle of the theatre, where an incense burner stood on a table. Whereas only incense is explicitly mentioned here, there seems no reason to doubt that both wine and incense would have been offered as normally the case elsewhere.[144] In contrast the inscription records the offering of animal sacrifice at the imperial shrine and in the civic square.

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[140] Vol. II, 1, 557. That these processions visited the altars to the *numina Augustorum* which were placed before the stylobates supporting familial monuments of provincial priests is not directly evidence but see above, p. 126 with n. 68.

[141] For the possibility that at Narbo vestiges of a portico could relate to the provincial temple see Vol. II, 1, 524, n. 297. On the provincial centre as the point of departure for processions marking imperial occasions see above, pp. 212–3.

[142] In contrast to the festivals of the Greek east there seems to be no evidence in the west for fierce squabbling over the sequence in which civic delegations followed in procession. See in general Hertz (1997) 247–8 with refs.

[143] Vol. II, 1, 545, 550–2, 618; Hertz (1997) 249–50, noting that in addition to the *protomé* fashioned from thin, precious metal the emperor's likeness could take the form of a picture painted on wood.

In the western provinces there are no specific references to porters but the imperial images that must have been carried in procession are well in evidence. Explicit testimony is provided in the first place by the epigraphical sources. A clause of the Lex Narbonensis states that funds unexpended at the end of a provincial priest's term might be spent on *statuae imaginesve*,[145] a provision qualified by the requirement that the provincial governor shall have given his consent(?):[146]

> 25. *De pecu*[*nia* ...22...]
>
> 26. *Qui flamonio abierit is ex ea pecunia* [...65... *statu*]
>
> 27. *as imaginesve imperatoris Caeṣ*[*aris* ...45... *arbitratu*(?) *eius qui eo anno pro*-]
>
> 28. *vinciae praeerit intra idem ṭ*[ ...41...
>
> *CIL* 12, 6038, lines 25–8

Since these objects are funded from the surplus of funds used for ritual purposes, they must have played a role in cult, in all probability as images to be caried in procession on festal occasions.[147] The possible inference that they may have been housed in the provincial temple also fits what we know of the safe-keeping of such objects (below, pp. 279–80.[148] Equally plain is a lost statue base at Tarraco recording that Cn. Numisius Modestus was instructed by the provincial council to gild the statues of Trajan; these are more likely images of the living emperor rather than the deified, the epithet *divus* corresponding to the time when the record was inscribed:[149]

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[144] For the rite of *supplicatio* see Vol. II, 1, 525–6; 532–5, 565 with Pl. XCI, a-b.

[145] For the distinction between *statua*, a likeness "en pied" whether life-size or a statuette, and *imago*, normally a small bust, see Vol. II, 1, 542–3. See now Witschel, Marc Aurel (1995) 258, 260, nn. 15–17 with refs., rightly stressing that distinctions in terminology, whether in Greek or in Latin, are by no means strictly observed. See further Van Andringa (2000) 30.

[146] Vol. III, 2, 13–14, cf. 11.

[147] Vol. II, 1, 558.

[148] On the completion of *intra idem ṭ*[ ... see Vol. III, 2, 14.

[149] Vol. II, 1, 541. *Contra* Panzram (2002) 63, taking the statues to have been gilded after Hadrian's death.

> *Cn(aeo) Numisio | Cn(aei) fil(io) Serg(ia tribu) | Modesto | Carthag(iniensi), omnib(us) | honorib(us) in re p(ublica) sua | functo, electo a | concilio provinc(iae) | ad statuas aurandas | Divi Hadriani, | flam(ini) p(rovinciae) H(ispaniae) c(iterioris), | p(rovincia) H(ispania) citerior* *RIT* 294

These statues too will surely have been kept in the provincial temple at the top of the Tarraco sanctuary, in all likelihood in the porch, from which they were taken for transportation in processions.

Conversely a text we have noted earlier refers to the dedication by the province of Lusitania, that is the provincial council, of a 5lb likeness—undoubtedly a bust—of Titus, which will similarly have been kept in the provincial temple of Lusitania and carried from there in procession:[150]

> *T. Caesari Aug. f. | Vespasiano pontif. | imp. XII trib. pote. vii | cos. vi | provincia Lusitania | C. Arruntio Catellio | Celere leg. Aug. pro.pr. | Ṃ. Iunio Latrone | Conimbricese flamine | provinciae Lusitaniae | ex auri p. v.*
> (*ERAE* 62; Vol. III, 1, Pl. 19)

To this record can now be added the ritual objects that were apparently supported by the marble block recording a dedication to Divus Augustus and Diva Augusta by Albinus, provincial *flamen* of Lusitania:

> *Divo Augusto* [*Divae Augustae*] | *Albinus Albui f. flamen D.*[*ivi Aug. et*] | *Divae Aug. provinciae Lusitaṇ*[*iae d(edit) d(edicavit)*?]
> *AE*, 1997, 777b; Vol. I, 1, Pl. XXXVIIa

J. Edmondson notes that apertures at the top left-hand and missing right-hand sections of the stone may have accommodated the foot of busts or small statues that stood above the block.[151] As the inscription makes no mention of the material, one would infer that the imperial priest has paid for less expensive bronze figures.[152] Whatever their precise characteristics, everything suggests that these were portable images, possibly kept in the porch of the provincial temple and occasionally dismounted from their sockets for transportation; frequent usage would explain the scars on the upper surface of the dedication slab. In that case these objects too belong in the series of transportable imperial likenesses presently under consideration.[153] It might be added that a new dedication at Mérida seems to attest a similar provincial or municipal dedication: *Divo Ạ*[*ugusto*] | *et Diva*[*e Augustae*] | *sacrum* [...] | ... (*AE*, 1997, 777a) .[154] If the latter, the text may provide evidence of a similar rite at the colonial temple. In the former case, the text along with the contemporary inscription of Albinus suggests that the provincial priest of Lusitania (and elsewhere?) occasionally, if not regularly, dedicated imperial statues or busts on completion(?) of his term. The practice was destined to be regularized under Vespasian by regulations like those of the Lex Narbonensis, according to which such statues and busts might be financed out of surplus provincial funds (above).

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[150] Vols. II, 1, 558; III, 1, 166–7.

[151] Edmondson (1997) 84, 86–7; Fishwick, Priesthoods (1999) 86–7; Vol. III, 1, 57–9.

[152] On the material of imperial images see Vol. II, 1, 543–5; Van Andringa (2000) 35.

[153] Edmondson, *o.c.* 87–8.

Epigraphical references aside, no statue or bust used strictly in provincial rites is known but several examples of the kind that were transported in procession have survived. The best known are the gold bust representing Marcus Aurelius(?) in military dress, which probably stood in the porch of the temple *cella* at Aventicum or in an *exedra* of the surrounding portico (above, p. 270),[155] and the silver plate bust of Lucius Verus, likewise in military dress, found at Marengo, Turin; both of these have been discussed earlier.[156] Similar examples, mostly from the later empire are collected by Ch. Witschel.[157] The material of these objects, it should be noted, is precious metal.[158] To these very tangible traces can be added the possible busts that coins may show standing on the Altar of the Three Gauls at Lugdunum;[159] we have seen that these have been alternatively interpreted as representations of the Gallic tribes gathered round the altar as described by Strabo (above, pp. 117, 124–5). Two types in particular, while indistinct, may portray statuettes as well as busts (Pls. 148–9; cf. Vol. I, 1, XIIIb). If this interpretation is correct, the objects shown resting on the altar will have been carried, conceivably along with the central baldachins holding statues of Roma and Augus-

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[154] Edmondson, *o.c.* 89–91.

[155] Alternatively Witschel, Marc Aurel (1995) 257–8, 259, nn. 2–8, suggests that the bust may have been kept in a small *aedicula* within an annex of the sanctuary; cf. 260, n. 23. See in general Van Andringa (2000) 38–43, citing Bossert (1998). On the placement of imperial statues at temples at Rome see Scheid (1995) 425–7.

[156] Vol. II, 1, 535–6 with Pl. Ca-b.

[157] Witschel, *o.c.* 259, nn. 10–14 with refs. See earlier Vol. II, 1, 536, n. 368; further Van Andringa (2000) 36.

[158] For the point that in Rome solid gold was a prerogative of the emperor and members of his house see Vol. II, 1, 544–5, noting that in the provinces private individuals could have statues in solid silver after death if not before, and that anyone was free to have a gilded or silvered likeness of himself. The material of busts is stressed in the letter of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus to the Athenian *gerousia*. See Vol. II, 1, 545; Witschel, *o.c.* 257, 259, n. 9.

[159] Vol. I, 1, 120–5 with Pls. I, XI, XIIa–XVII. See in general above, pp. 111–20.

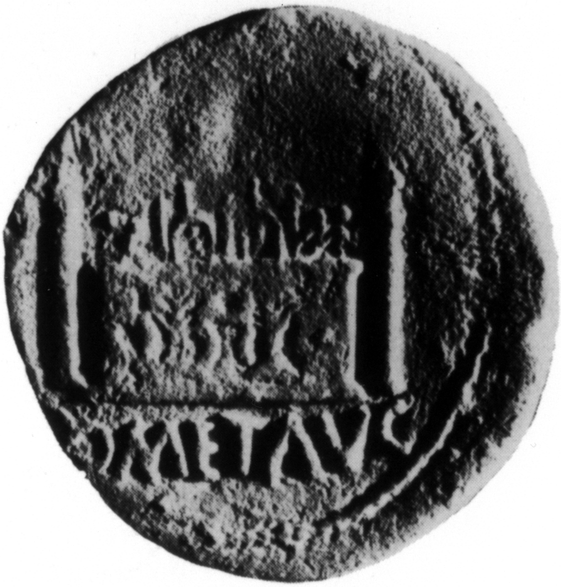

Plate 148. *As* possibly showing statuettes with busts on Altar of Three Gauls at Lugdunum.

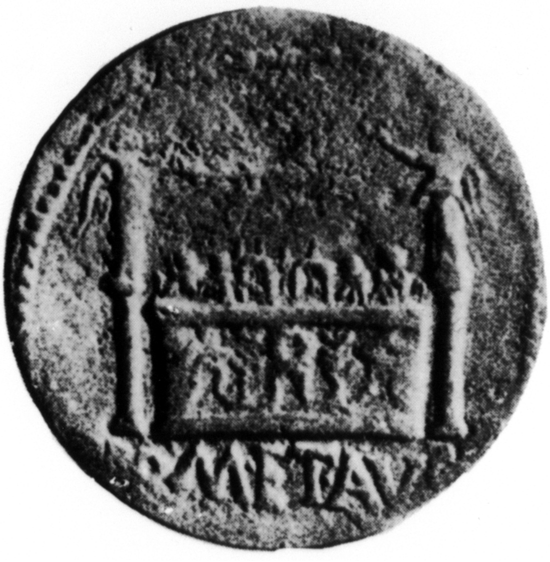

Plate 149. *Sestertius* possibly showing statuettes with busts on Altar of Three Gauls at Lugdunum.

tus(?), in solemn procession from the federal altar to the amphitheatre (cf. Vol. II, 1, Pl. CIIIa), where they were presumably set in a special place, there to preside over the spectacle. When not in use the holy objects may have been kept originally in some room at the council *curia*, later at the federal temple.[160]

Particular interest attaches in this connection to a small shrine that has been identified at the theatre of Emerita, also to what is possibly a similar shrine at the theatre of Corduba. We have already noted that the *ima cavea* of the Emerita theatre included a *sacrarium Larum et imaginum* which held an altar, various reliefs and six marble statue bases inscribed *Aug. sac.* (above, p. 69 with Pl. 92).[161] The cult place is attested by a Trajanic inscription which also refers to the province of Lusitania:

> *anno*] *coloniae CXXX* | [*…C*]*aes. Aug. Ger. Dacic*[— | — *provi*]*ṇciae Lusit*[*aniae* — *sacr*]*ari? Larum et imaginum* | [—]*D dat*[— | —]*A D*[—.
>
> *AE* (1990) 515

Private groups of *cultores* who paid cult to the Lares in combination with the emperor's image occasionally have a similar *sacrarium*[162] but in this case the reference to the province—not impossibly to a priest of the province[163]—could suggest, say, that the latter had funded construction. The point can hardly be pressed, given the lacuna before *provi*]*ṇciae Lusit*[*aniae* … , for which some entirely different restitution might be appropriate, but it seems probable that this was a shrine in which imperial likenesses permanently rested. The connection with the province raises the possibility that the small figures it housed will have been paraded at the theatre on the occasion of imperial festivals. Whether statues or images like that dedicated by the province of Emerita (above, p. 275) were additionally carried to the theatre from the provincial temple on such days, conceivably to rest at the *sacrarium* throughout the performance before returning to the imperial temple at the close of proceedings, can hardly be confirmed. In any case there seems a good chance that on the occasion of imperial festivals sacrifices in the form of incense and wine will have been performed before imperial images at this shrine, very much on the model of the practice at Gytheum. A similar shrine may have existed at Corduba, where there is a dedication *Augusto sacrum* (above, pp. 78, 103) but so far at least there is nothing that points to a parallel repository at the theatre of Tarraco.

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[160] Vol. II, 1, 557–8.

[161] Trillmich (1989–90). For an overview see now Panzram (2002) 273.

[162] Vol. II, 1, 434, 536–40, 615, n. 34. For the process by which the emperor's *genius* became his *imago* see Vol. II, 1, 537, n. 375; Turcan, Dieux (1998) 202.

[163] Vol. III, 2, 153, n. 38.

At all events the transportation of these images, perhaps along with other objects such as sacrificial utensils, torches and censers,[164] was patently an important feature of the rites celebrating imperial occasions. That music also accompanied processions is an outside possibility that remains to be confirmed by direct evidence. When not in use such statues or busts will presumably have been kept at the provincial temple, probably in the porch as a range of epigraphic evidence strongly suggests.[165] Theoretically at least they counted as votive offerings in line with the centuries-old custom of placing likenesses of a deity in a temple as an expression of piety.[166] It should be noted, however, that this was not the sole place where portable imperial statues could be kept. Just as likenesses of the emperor could be conserved at Ephesus in the *synhedrion*,[167] so in the west they could be also housed in the municipal *curia*.[168] In the case of colleges, in contrast, statues and busts were kept in the club *schola* within the collegial *aedes*.[169] Wherever lodged, statues and busts will have been cleaned, annointed, crowned, possibly even clothed as we have noted in detail earlier.[170]

As for the purpose of such busts, their self-evident function was to evoke the presence of the emperor and his house before the eyes of onlookers. A similar aim lies behind the transportation of other objects in procession such as the emperor's chair or shield, not that we have any evidence that processions at provincial level in the western empire copied the practice of Rome in this respect.[171] On arrival at their destination, if not also at some stage en route, imperial likenesses will presumably have been the object of rites. This looks to be the case in the Gytheum inscription (above, pp. 273–4)[172] and seems likely enough in the west though there seems to be no direct evidence in respect to provincial processions at least; in the case of colleges the statues and busts they kept in the club *schola* certainly received offerings when they were paraded on *dies solemnes*.[173] What the sources do make clear, however, is that a role in the festive processions of the ruler cult was only one aspect of the use of transportable imperial images and it is in these other functions that are more plainly revealed the rites appropriate to the emperor's likeness.

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[164] Witschel, Kaiserbildnisse (1995) 364, n. 37.

[165] Vol. II, 1, 547–50; Witschel, Marc Aurel (1995) 261, n. 27.

[166] Van Andringa (2000) 30, 35.

[167] Vol. II, 1, 552; Witschel, Marc Aurel (1995) 260, n. 24; *id.*, Kaiserbildnesse (1995) 362.

[168] Witschel, Kaiserbildnisse *ibid.*

[169] Vol. II, 1, 538–40.

[170] Vol. II, 1, 561–3; Witschel, Marc Aurel (1995) 261, n. 28; *id.*, Kaiserbildnisse (1995) 362, 366, n. 67 with refs., noting the posibility that even imperial statues on the forum will have been cleaned, oiled, salted, crowned and decorated.

[171] Vol. II, 1, 553–6.

[172] Witschel, Marc Aurel (1995) 258, 261, n. 31, noting that the offering was made to

The best known episode when representations of the emperor played a key role, other than as objects transported in procession, is the examination of the Christians by Pliny, governor of Pontus and Bithynia *ca.* A.D. 110.[174] Those who denied that they were or had been followers of Christ proved their claim by first calling on the gods, then offering incense and wine before the emperor's image,[175] which Pliny had for this purpose placed with the statues of the gods, and reviling Christ. Apostate Christians also venerated the imperial image and the statues of the gods. The *simulacra numinum* Pliny refers to cannot have been the colossal idols within the temple as these were hardly movable nor can they have been the honorific statues commonly located on a forum. Conceivably they were portable statues that had been temporarily removed from their lodging at the temple to suit Pliny's immediate purpose. Where these proceedings took place is uncertain—the governor's residence, the forum, a cult room in the portico, the *aedes Augusti* within the basilica?[176]—but Pliny's account makes it clear that for the purposes of his cross-examination the emperor's *imago* had been placed with what in effect were substitutes for the cult idols within the

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unnamed recipients for the well-being of the rulers. See further Vol II, 1, 514, nn. 246, 248.

[173] Cf. Vol. II, 1, 539, n. 384, noting that the patron and prefect of a *collegium fabrum* at Aquincum lead the members *in ambulativis* on 28 July. See further Van Andringa (2000) 35.

[174] Fishwick, Christians (1984); Witschel, Marc Aurel (1995) 258, 261, n. 35; Van Andringa (2000) 33.

[175] Vol. II, 1, 533–4, 565. On the implications of the Christians' refusal to pay formal cult to the emperor see Hertz (1988) 121–2. Tertullian states, *Apolog.* 10, 1; cf. 24, 1, 4, that Christians are persecuted because they neither honour the gods of Rome nor perform sacrifices to them for the emperor's *salus*. See further below, p. 354.

[176] Vol. II, 1, 522–5. On the function of the *aedes Augusti* not as a permanent imperial shrine but as a room within the basilica that could be occasionally used for the purposes of imperial cult (which was then offered at a portable altar and before imperial images specially brought for the purpose) see Witschel, Kaiserbildnesse (1995) 362 with nn. 44–57.

temple—very possibly the Capitolium.[177] Whether these were portable, full-length statues or statuettes is as uncertain as are the deities they represented (the Capitoline Triad?) but it would appear that Pliny is recreating the situation within a temple when the emperor's image was placed in the *cella*, even beside the cult image, in theory as a votive offering (above, p. 279) but in practice as a way of honouring the individual emperor.[178] In that case Pliny has put the emperor's image on a par with the likenesses of the gods, besides which it now stands. The important point for present purposes is that Pliny's account shows how the imperial image could be the object of supplications in a context entirely different from the processions that accompanied important imperial anniversaries of the liturgical year. Similar situations are reported in the *Acts of the Christian Martyrs*,[179] when the accused were also ordered to reverence the emperor's image.[180]

Other occasions mentioned in the sources when the emperor's image was the object of similar rites include acts of submission by foreign princes, which in the absence of the monarch himself took place in the presence of small, transportable representations of the emperor.[181] Imperial images could be carried around and in exceptional cases even paid cult, as also might honorific statues on the forum,[182] and imperial likenesses of various kinds played an important role in the festivals of the Roman army, notably on occasions involving offerings,[183] probably also when oaths were taken before the standards (Tac., *Ann.* 25, 16; *Hist.*

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[177] Witschel, Marc Aurel (1995) 261, n. 36, seems to misunderstand Fishwick, Christians (1984) 125, where it is clearly stated that the emperor's *imago* is placed with substitutes for the immovable cult idols, thus re-creating the situation within the temple. The supplication was then made to the emperor's *imago*. These substitutes may well have been smaller-scale statues of the gods (the Capitoline Triad?) that worshippers had earlier placed in the temple as offerings.

[178] Vol. II, 1, 545–6.

[179] For documentation see Witschel, *o.c.* 258, 261, n. 37.

[180] Vol. II, 1, 534.

[181] For the prostration of Tiridates, Artabanus and Zorsines before imperial imagines see Vol. II, 1, 535, n. 361, 565, n. 545, cf. Witschel, *o.c.* 259, 262, n. 38.

[182] For examples see Witschel, Marc Aurel (1995) 259, 262, n. 39; *id.*, Kaiserbildnisse (1995) 363 with nn. 73–8.

[183] For a disputed wall-painting at Dura-Europus showing an offering apparently before representations of the emperors Pupienus, Balbinus and Gordian III see Pl. 150 with Fishwick, Lambèse (1991) 336, n. 22 and refs.; Clauss (1999) 326–7. *Contra* Sarnowski (1989) 118–9, taking the statues to represent gods at one of the civic temples of Dura; cf. Witschel, Kaiserbildnisse (1995) 366, n. 58, stressing the difficulties in interpreting the fresco.

1, 55–6; Tertullian, *Apol.* 16).[184] At all events it is clear that the function of imperial images in processions of the ruler cult is just one aspect of the role that portable likenesses of the emperor played in Roman life and that the rites carried out before such likenesses in other contexts point strongly to the performance of similar rites in connection with the processions that marked festivals observed in provincial cult.[185]

It seems reasonable to conclude, then, that the portable likenesses, traces of which have survived in one form or another at the provincial centres at Narbo, Tarraco, Emerita and possibly Lugdunum will have been offered supplications *ture ac vino*. At what stage in proceedings these rites occurred is entirely uncertain. Ch. Witschel suggests that the bust of Marcus Aurelius(?) will have been placed directly before the altar at Aventicum.[186] As we have seen at Lugdunum, however, busts and perhaps statues appear to stand *on* the Altar of the Three Gauls, though this interpretation remains debatable. In any event it looks perfectly possible that imperial likenesses will have been placed before, if not actually on, the provincial altar or the altar of the provincial temple at the start of processions at Lugdunum and other centres and that on arrival at the facility in use for the day they will have been offered further sacrifice much as at Gytheum. At the theatre of Emerita, perhaps also of Corduba, images may well have been lodged temporarily by or actually on the altar of the *sacrarium*. At amphitheatres, circuses, and theatres elsewhere they will doubtless have been placed in some advantageous position immediately overlooking the spectacle. Finally, at the end of the day imperial likenesses must have been transported back to the provincial altar or temple in much the same way as they were returned to the municipal temple at Aventicum and conceivably offered a further supplication of incense and wine. If this reconstruction is correct, at least in the main, it follows that what we have taken to be busts and statues on the Lugdunum coins are shown in ritual use, whether before or after participation in processions to or from the amphitheatre.

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[184] Vol. II, 1, 418, 534, 562, 596; Witschel, Marc Aurel (1995) 259, 261, nn. 40–6; Hertz (2001) 101–2.

[185] Witschel, Kaiserbildnisse (1995) 361–2.

[186] Witschel, Marc Aurel (1995) 258.

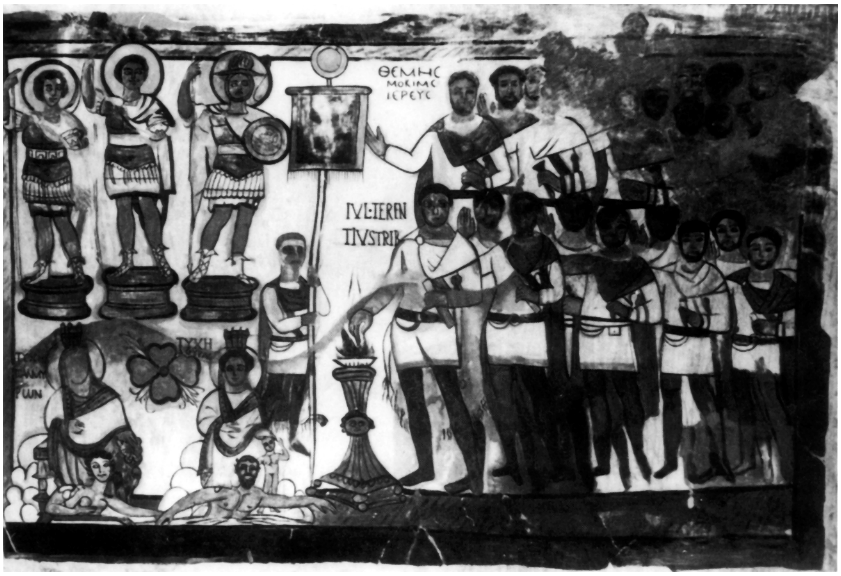

Plate 150. Wall fresco from Dura Europus possibly showing offering before representations of emperors.

## vi. *Other Rites*

Other rites are mostly conjectural. The illumination of temples with lamps that cast a dim, religious light looks a plausible inference in western provincial cult as does the use of lighting in ritual and the role of choral hymn singing, music and acclamations—not that there is direct evidence one can draw upon in the west outside of Rome.[187] The processions that marked imperial festivals at Tarraco, Lugdunum and elsewhere may well have been accompanied by torches, singing and music. Mysteries on the other hand, for example those of the kind celebrated at Pergamum, seem to have been an entirely eastern phenomenon, but an integral feature of mysteries in the east was the delivery of rhetorical encomia as evidenced by the existence of a *theologos* or *theologoi* in various Greek cults.[188] The same role was played in ruler cult by officials named *theologos, hymnologos, encomiographos* or more explicitly *sebastologos*, a term that clearly evokes a panegyric on the emperor delivered as part of the ceremonies at imperial festivals.[189] For this practice at least there seems to be substantial evidence at the provincial level in the west.

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[187] Vol. II, 1, 566–71; Hertz (1997) 249.

[188] Vol. II, 1, 571–2.

Rome aside, the centre at which a similar official looks firmly attested in western provinces is Lugdunum, where Suetonius gives an account of the competition in Greek and Latin oratory which took place before the Altar of the Three Gauls in the winter of A.D. 39/40 under the presidency of Gaius (cf. CD 59, 22, 1; 25, 1). We are told that the losers had to give prizes to the winners and make them congratulatory speeches. More eccentric still, those who were least successful had to wipe off their writings with a sponge or even their tongues; alternatively they could choose to be beaten with rods or thrown into the nearby river:

> *Edidit et peregre spectacula, in Sicilia Syracusis asticos ludos et in Galia Luguduni miscellos; sed hic certamen quoque Graecae Latinaeque facundiae, quo certamine ferunt victoribus praemia victos contulisse, eorundem et laude componere coactos; eos autem, qui maxime displicuissent, scripta sua spongia linguave delere iussos, nisi ferulis obiurgari aut flumine proximo mergi maluissent.* (Suet. *Gaius* 20).

Half a century later Juvenal suggests that the prospect of speaking at the Altar had become proverbial for being in a precarious situation—like stepping with bare ankles on a snake:

> *Accipiat sane mercedem sanguinis, et sic*
> *palleat, ut nudis qui pressit calcibus anguem,*
> *aut Lugudunensem rhetor dicturus ad aram.* *Sat.* 1, 42–4

The interesting point here is that, according to Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 5, 1, 62), the bodies of the Christians who had been martyred in the amphitheatre in A.D 177 were exposed for six days, then burned and the ashes thrown in the Rhone. His testimony looks confirmed by various Roman funerary monuments recovered from the region of St. Clair, the nearest point of the river to the amphitheatre. It would appear, then, that the penalty paid by bad orators was an indignity that mimicked a local Celtic rite of burial. Competitors who came at the bottom of the list might be dumped into the river—in practice a mock burial.

The notable point about ducking in the river is that it recalls the famous occasion when Claudius was thrown "clothes and all" into the Rhone, after he turned up at the head of an embassy sent to congratulate Gaius on escaping from the conspiracy of Lepidus and

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[189] Hertz (1997) 249.

Gaetulicus: … *adeo ut non defuerint qui traderent praecipitatum quoque in flumen sic ut vestitus advenerat* (Suet., *Claud.* 9, 1)—a pointed indication of the emperor's contempt for Claudius and distrust of the envoys, most of whom he suspected of being spies.[190] Interestingly, the same treatment was handed out by Claudius to a certain Iulius Gallicus (plainly a Gaul),[191] who in pleading a case had irritated the emperor while he was holding court by the river Tiber *ca.* A.D. 52–3. Whether Iulius had got on Claudius' nerves by sounding off about the Tiber is unclear but he apparently paid the price for a pretentious speech by being ducked *Gallico more* in the river (CD 61 [60], 33, 8), the same indignity the emperor himself had earlier suffered.

The main point for present purposes is that this eccentric humiliation of competitors at Lugdunum shows the importance that Gaius attached to finding a rhetorician competent to eulogize the emperor at some up-coming provincial festival, conceivably that of the following August.[192] The various incidents combined bring out the significance of the encomium delivered in honour of the emperor and suggest that, at least at the sanctuary of the Three Gauls, an orator chosen by this intimidating process of selection played the same role as, say, the *sebastologos* who eulogized Gaius at the celebrations of the provincial cult of Asia.[193] There seems no evidence to confirm the comparable role of a panegyrist at other provincial centres in the Latin west but the performance of similar functionaries elsewhere is surely within the bounds of reasonable conjecture.

## vii. *Participation*

As we have seen, the existence of entrances of various kinds must have been an open invitation to the general public to visit provincial centres, where they would have been free to watch the ceremonies of the provincial cult (above, pp. 212, 217). Whether attendance occurred on any regular basis is nowhere recorded in the sources. All that seems clear is that the delegates who convened at the annual synod of the provincial *concilium*, held at the *curia* within the provincial enclosure, would certainly have been well placed to attend ceremonies during the period, conceivably of several weeks, when the council was in session. The same would be equally true of the *ad hoc* meetings of the council that were called from time to time to deal with particular problems as they arose. Otherwise the only personnel known to have been in regular attendance at provincial centres, apart from the provincial priest and his retinue, are the officials of the council of the Three Gauls who were employed to deal, so it would seem, with matters of finance.[194] At Tarraco, in contrast, there seems good reason to believe that the headquarters of the provincial governor were located within the provincial enclave, where we hear of various officials in the service of the imperial authorities (above, pp. 33–4). All that can be said on the question of attendance, therefore, is that the opportunity to assist at provincial rites certainly existed for the large numbers of council delegates and their retinue that reunited at various times. Whether the general public attended rites with any regularity or even the officials whose place of business was located within the provincial enclosure is nowhere reported in the sources. Otherwise the annual council of the Three Gauls coincided with a great festival at Lugdunum each August, when throngs of curious onlookers could have been expected to congregate in considerable numbers.[195] Contrary to what is sometimes stated, the festival at Lugdunum seems to have had no counterpart elsewhere in the Latin west. On the other hand the processions that were everywhere a key part of the festivities marking imperial occasions were doubtless watched by the bulk of the local population.

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[190] Fishwick (1976) with refs., noting that the incident must have taken place on the Rhône in Gaul as implied by Dio (59, 23, 5), not the Rhine in Germany as reported by Suetonius (*ibid*).

[191] On the possible identity of Gallicus see Fishwick, Ducking (1987) 73–4.

[192] Vol. I, 1, 100; II, 1, 572–3, 578 with n. 632; III, 2, 301. For similar competitions at the Isthmian Caesaria see Vol. II, 1, 569.

[193] Vol. II, 1, 572.

A problem closely related to attendance at provincial rites is the question of banquets. The place of these in Greek and Latin cults has already been considered in some detail.[196] The immediate question for present purposes is whether banquets were associated with the slaughter of the animal victims which must have been a distinguishing feature of principal imperial festivals, notably the emperor's birthday. We have already noted that at Forum Clodii, for example, the birthday of Tiberius was marked not only by the annual sacrifice of a calf but also by a free meal for the *populus* funded in perpetuity by Q. Cascellius Labeo, and that on the birthdays of Augustus and Tiberius their *genii* are to be invited by a supplication of incense and wine to dine at the altar of the *Numen Augustum* before the decurions go to eat (*CIL* 11, 3303: above, p. 48). In this case the town councillors seem to be entitled to a free meal as a standard perquisite whereas the *populus* as a whole enjoy a similar privilege by virtue of a special endowment. Elsewhere in the west local priests and priestesses in Spain are recorded to have provided an *epulum*, the *natalis* of Marcus Aurelius was celebrated at Nîmes by a banquet along with other festivities, and communal banquets are well attested in Roman Africa, notably at Tingis.[197] None of these sources attests banquets in connection with the provincial celebration of imperial festivals but there seems every reason to suppose that feasting will have been associated with such imperial anniversaries as the emperor's *natalis* and that, like the decurions at Forum Clodii, the members of provincial councils in particular will have been entitled to share in a communal banquet following sacrifices offered on the occasion of their annual reunion. If imperial anniversaries were an excuse for games in the amphitheatre, circus or theatre, it seems reasonble to conclude that, despite the lack of direct evidence, the association of banquets with provincial celebrations will have been very much in line with the interests and purposes of the central regime.

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[194] Vol. III, 2, 46–55.

[195] Vols. I, 1, 97, 118; II, 1, 578 with n. 632.

[196] Vol. II, 1, 584–7.

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[197] Vol. II, 1, 587.

## CHAPTER FIFTEEN

# DEDICATIONS

With dedications one is on firmer ground since a substantial amount of direct evidence has survived that plainly attests the personal activity of the provincial priest. While these testimonia can be divided into various categories, the first group is of particular importance since it provides direct evidence for a rite performed by the provincial priest.

## i. *Direct Dedications*

### a. Imperial Divinities

The clearest example is the document we have already examined in detail recording that Albinus, son of Albuus, dedicated to Divus Augustus and Diva Augusta what were in all probability two busts, the foot of each of which was inserted into an aperture above the stone.[1] As noted above (pp. 275–6), these likenesses will have been removed from their housing for transportation in procession on appropriate occasions of the liturgical year:

> *Divo Augusto* [*Divae Augustae*] | *Albinus Albui f. flamen D.*[*ivi Aug. et*] | *Divae Aug. provinciae Lusitaṇ*[*iae d(edit) d(edicavit)*?]
> (*AE*, 1997, 777b; Vol. I, 1. Pl. XXXVIIa)

There seems to be no certain parallel to this text elsewhere in the Latin west but a second dedication, also from Mérida, was evidently set up to Divus Augustus and Diva Augustus:

> *Divo Ạ*[*ugusto*] | *et Diva*[*e Augustae*] | *sacrum* [.....] | ....
> (*AE*, 1997, 777a; Vol. III, 1, 57, cf. above, p. 276).

The stone has been reshaped to serve as a plinth but J. Edmondson suggests the possibility that in its original form it might have similarly supported figures, possibly statuettes (busts?), of the deified Augustus and the deified Livia.[2] On the other hand, too little of the text is preserved to show whether it relates to the provincial cult of Lusitania or the civic cult of Emerita as at Gytheum or Aventicum, for example (above, pp. 268–70).

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[1] Vol. III, 1, 57–9, noting that Albinus may have donated as well as dedicated what must have been figures of Divus Augustus and Diva Augusta. See now Panzram (2002) 261–2.

### b. Other Divinities

With this rare evidence for the dedication of cult objects by a provincial priest may be compared records of dedications that provincial priests made to other gods while plainly operating in their official capacity.

A Flavian dedication[3] found at the Sanctuary of the Three Gauls but known today only from the manuscript tradition was set up by the provincial priest Q. Adginnius Martinus to a god whose name is now lost and to Mars Segomo, the patron deity of the *civitas* Sequanorum.[4] The left hand section of the stone was broken away before the surviving letters were copied but enough of the text was preserved to be of considerable historical interest:[5]

> *...... et Ma]rti Segomoni sacrum | [ex stipe] annua | [Q. Adginnius Ur]bici fil(ius) Martinus | [Sequanus sac]erdos Romae et Aug(usti) | [........ M. Ner]atio Pansa co(n)s(ule) | [flamen (duum)vir in c]ivitate Sequanorum | [cui Tres Provincia]e Galliae honores | [omnes(?) impensis] suis decreverunt.* *CIL* 13, 1675

Here the provincial priest clearly acts on behalf of the provincial council, which has authorized the costs of the dedication to be funded out of the *stips annua*, the annual levy collected from the constituent *civitates* that sent delegates to the federal *concilium* of the Three Gauls.[6] Since Adginnius was plainly functioning as a federal priest, it seems likely enough that the local god Mars Segomo will have been associated with a divinity closely associated with the federal cult offered by Tres Galliae. The suggestion that this might have been the Numen Augusti seems improbable, given that the cult of the *numen* dropped out of sight after the reign of Tiberius before reappearing in the Antonine period,[7] but an Augustan god of some sort looks a possibility (cf. *IDR* 3/2, 266; *RIU* 20; *AE*, 1983, 774: see below).

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[2] Edmondson (1997) 89–90: Panzram, *o.c.* 261.

[3] On the date of the text and the problematic restitution of line 5 see Vol. III, 1, 150–2. On the local career of Adginnius Martinus see Gschaid (1991) 71–2, assigning his career to the Flavian period.

[4] On Mars Segomo see Fishwick, Regulations (1999) 250–1 with n. 7, citing Gschaid (1991) 64ff.

[5] The stones were built into the tower of the church of St.-Pierre-les-Nonains at Lyon, where they are no longer legible.

[6] On the *stips annua* see Vol. III, 1, 154–5.

Alternatively one might infer the inclusion of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus as recorded in a companion text that attests a second official dedication made by Adginnius:

> *Iovi O(ptimo) M(aximo) | Q. Adginnius Urbici | fil(ius) Martinus Seq(uanus) | sacerdos Romae et Aug(usti) | ad aram ad confluentes | Araris et Rhodani | flamen (duum)vir in civitate | Sequanorum* *CIL* 13, 1674

Here too there can be no doubt that the dedication at the Confluence was set up by Adginnius in his capacity as federal priest of the Three Gauls. It is noticeable that in this second text there is no mention of the *stips annua*, whereas another document from the Confluence, little of which is preserved, does mention the levy in relation to what is evidently a dedication to Apollo ]siannus or Siannus (*CIL* 13, 1669, cf. 1536?), a name not otherwise attested. Presumably there was no need to state that federal funds had supported the costs of a dedication to the principal Roman god but a native deity associated with a local *civitas* was another matter. Whatever the explanation, there is no hint in the text of *CIL* 13, 1674 that Adginnius has funded the dedication out of his own pocket.

At Sarmizegetusa the priest of the Three Dacias, M. Antonius Valentinus, dedicated a votive altar to Mars Augustus for the well-being of the emperor Gordian:[8]

> *Marti Aug(usto) | pro salute imp(eratoris) | Caes(aris) M(arci) Antoni | Gordiani pii | felic(is) Aug(usti) | M(arcus) Antonius | Valentinus | eq(uus) R(omanus) dec(urio) m(unicipii) Apul(ensis) | sacerdos arae | Aug(usti) n(ostri) | coronatus Dac(iarum) | (Trium) d(ono) d(edit).* *IDR* 3/2, 266; Pl. 151

The fact that the dedication was made to Mars Augustus, an Augustan god who therefore operated within the sphere of the emperor as his protector and helper,[9] accords exactly with the *pro salute* formula (below, p. 357–8) and is entirely consistent with a dedication made by a provincial priest at a provincial centre, in this case the area that lay just outside the boundaries of the colony of Sarmizegtusa (above, pp. 174–7 with Pl. 126). There can be no question, therefore, that in this instance also Valentinus was acting in his role as federal priest of the combined Daciae.

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[7] Fishwick, Regulations (1999) 250, n. 9, citing Gschaid (1991) 302, n. 69. See further Fishwick, *Numinibus* (1994) 138.

[8] Vol. III, 2, 256, 265.

[9] Vol. II, 1, 446–54.

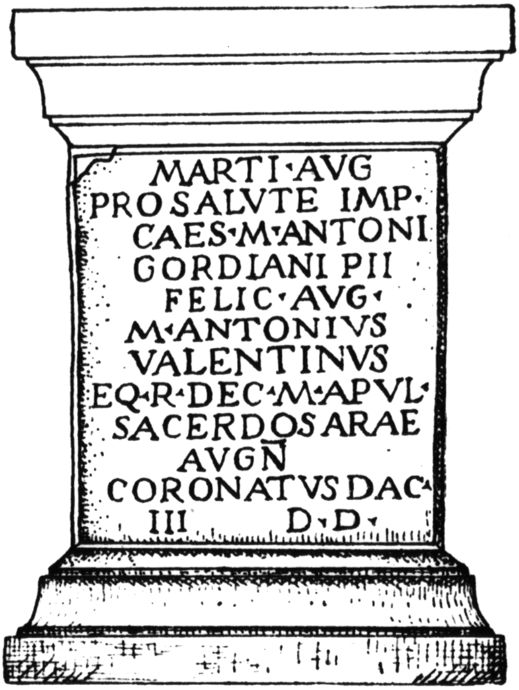
MARTI·AVG
PRO SALVTE IMP·
CAES·M·ANTONI
GORDIANI PII
FELIC·AVG·
M·ANTONIVS
VALENTINVS
EQ·R·DEC·M·APVL·
SACERDOS ARAE
AVG N
CORONATVS DAC·
III D·D·

Plate 151. Votive altar to Mars Augustus set up by priest of Tres Daciae for well-being of emperor, Sarmizgetusa.

A further text from the site of the provincial centre of Tres Daciae is inscribed on a marble altar or statue base and attests that the provincial priest P. Aelius Antipater (*iun.*) has made a dedication to an unknown deity—the *numen* of an emperor?—along with the Genius Daciarum(?).[10] In this case the official nature of the dedications is further confirmed by the fact that the provincial priest has defrayed the costs of cultic activity *exs*(sic) *muneribus*, explicit confirmation of the standard supposition that a provincial priest was expected to cover the expenses of provincial rites from his own resources:[11]

> .... | ... *et*] | *Geni*[*o Daciar(um)*] | *P(ublius) Ael(ius) A*[*ntipater*] | *flame*[*n colon(iae)*] | *Apulen*[*sis sac(rum)*] | *arae A*[*ugusti n(ostri)*] | *exs*(sic) *mu*[*neribus*] | *donu*[*m dedit*]. (*IDR* 3/2, 217; Pl. 20)

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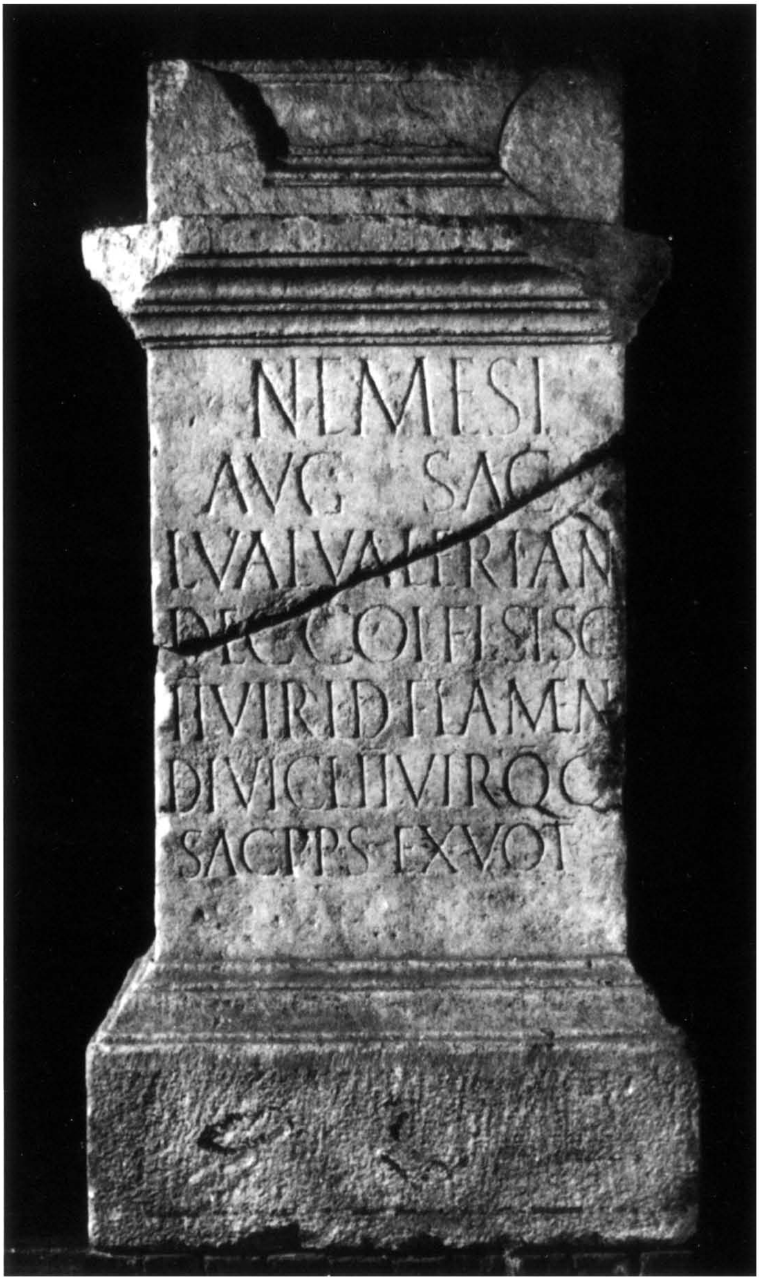
[10] Vol. III, 1, 206–7; III, 2, 255, 264.

[11] Vol. III, 2, 302.



NEMESI
AVG SAC
L VAL VAL ERIAN
DEC COL F L SISC
II VIR I D FLAMEN
DIVI CL II VIR Q Q
SAC P P S EX VOT

Plate 152. Dedication to Nemesis Augusta by L. Valerius Valerianus at Savaria.

Lastly, L. Valerius Valerianus erected a marble altar, finely worked on three sides, to Nemesis Augusta at Savaria in payment of his vow.[12] The rite was clearly carried out by the provincial priest acting in an official capacity since the altar was set up at Savaria, which most commentators, following the lead of Mommsen, have taken to be the provincial centre of Upper Pannonia.[13] The circumstance that this a dedication to an Augustan god is also consistent with this interpretation (see above). The date of the altar falls between Trajan's organization of the province of Upper Pannonia and the reconstitution of Siscia as Colonia Septimia under Septimius Severus:

> *Nemesi | Aug(ustae) sac(rum) | L(ucius) Val(erius) Valerian(us) | dec(urio) col(o-niae) Fl(aviae) Sisc(iensium), | (duum)vir i(ure) d(icundo), flamen | divi Cl(audii), (duum)vir q(uin)q(uennalis), | sac(erdos) p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) s(uperioris) ex vot(o).* *RSS* 38; Pl. 152

ii. *Co-ordinate Dedications*

Aside from the above evidence for direct dedications by provincial priests acting singly, a number of texts have survived which seem to document the collaboration of the provincial priest with the provincial governor in making a dedication of some sort or other. Thus a defaced text at Sarmizegetusa records that the council of the Three Dacias set up a dedication to some god whose name has been lost:[14]

> [—| *pro salute Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) | Ṃ(arci) Ạụṛ(elii) Ṣẹṿẹṛị Ạḷẹx̣ạṇ|d]ri pii f̣ẹḷịc̣ịṣ Ạụg̣(usti) | concilium pr*[*o*]|*vinciarum Dac(iarum) I*[*II* | ?*ḍẹḍịc̣ạṇṭẹ Ịạṣḍịọ | Ḍọṃịṭịạṇọ c̣ọ(n)ṣ(ulari)*] | *sacerdot(io) Tib(erii) Cl(audii) | Augustiani eq(uo) p(ublico).*
>
> (*IDR* 3/2, 79; Pl. 153)

Of particular significance in the present context is that the document permits reasonable inference on a further aspect of the cultic activities of the provincial priest. As confirmed by comparative examples at Emerita, Corduba and Troesmis (below), the provincial governor, whose name has here been defaced,[15] evidently performed the rite of *dedicatio* on behalf of the *concilium*. The event is dated by the term of the

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[12] Vols. III, 1, 178; III, 2, 271–73.

[13] Vol. III, 1, 177–8.

[14] For the possible name of the god see Vol. III, 2, 258, n. 13.

[15] For the restoration of the name of the governor see Vol. III, 2, 259.

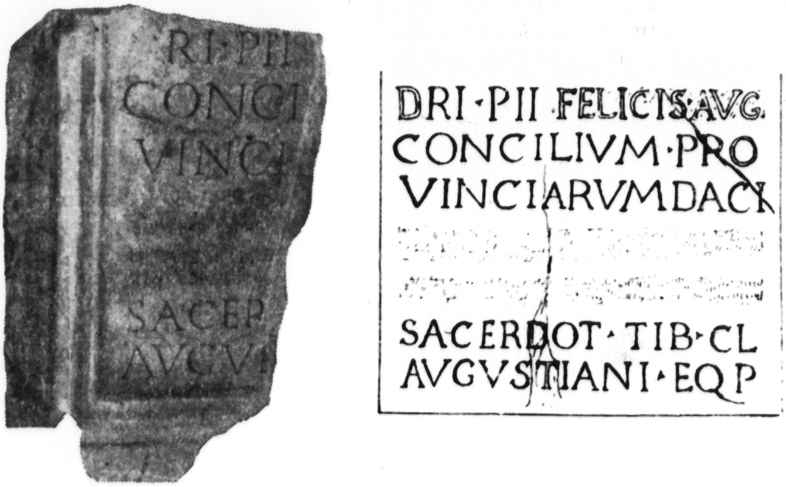

Plate 153. Dedication by council of the Three Dacias to god whose name has been lost.

provincial priest Tiberius Claudius Augustianus, who will necessarily have been present since the statue was set up by the provincial council of which he was chairman.[16] According to Roman ritual practice an object was deemed consecrated if duly dedicated by a magistrate assisted by a priest,[17] so everything suggests that on this occasion the provincial priest will have joined with the provincial governor in the rite of dedication. In contrast to the similar records listed below the event is recorded on a marble plaque. That this originated from the base which supported a statue of the unknown divinity looks very possible but is not explicit.

An earlier text from Emerita dated to A.D. 77/8 compares closely in structure but differs in the significant detail that in this case the province of Lusitania has offered what looks to have been a small gold bust not to a god but to a man, the virtual co-emperor Titus;[18] like the busts of Divus Augustus and Diva Augusta dedicated by Albinus this too will doubtless have been carried in procession on appropriate occasions (above, pp. 275–6). The inscription has been cited earlier for its importance in other connections but it is worth repeating here in view of the rite it implies:

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[16] Vol. III, 2, 259–60, 264.

[17] Wissowa in *RE* 4, 1 (1900) 896–902 s.v. *consecratio*; 4, 2 (1901) 2356–59 s.v. *dedicatio*; *id.* (1912) 385, 473–4; Kierdorf (1986) 46–7. For the persistence of Roman practice at provincial centres, irrespective of Roman or non-Roman status, see Eck (1993) 157–8.

[18] Vol. III, 1, 166–7; Panzram (2002) 276.

> *T. Caesari Aug. f. | Vespasiano pontif. | imp. XII trib. pote. vii | cos. vi | provincia Lusitania | C. Arruntio Catellio | Celere leg. Aug. pro.pr. | Ṃ. Iunio Latrone | Conimbricese flamine | provinciae Lusitaniae | ex auri p. v.*
> (*ERAE* 62; Vol. III, 1, Pl. 19)

As it stands, the syntax is perfectly straightforward: a suppressed main verb is followed by two ablative absolutes expressing the circumstances under which its action took place. The province, that is the provincial council, has dedicated to Titus a small gold protomé, C. Arruntius Catellius Celer being provincial governor and Ṃ. Iunius Latro provincial priest. Since, however, the provincial priest was chairman of the *concilium*, he must have attended the event and the question arises whether the same is true of the provincial governor. All analogy suggests that such will have been the case, given the widespread evidence for the participation of the provincial governor or his representative in dedications of all kinds.[19] Everything suggests, then, that on this occasion too the provincial priest will have joined with the provincial governor in the act of dedication. It follows that one can mentally supply *dedicante* with the name of the governor and some such participle as *curante*, say, with that of the provincial priest. In any event the fact that the provincial priest has acted in a ritual capacity is unmistakable.[20]

An important distinction should nevertheless be noted between the two acts of dedication at Emerita. Whereas the earlier rite of Albinus looks to coincide with the ancient practice of placing a dedicated object in the god's possession—in this case the two figures dedicated to Divus Augustus and Diva Augusta—thereby making them *res sacrae*,[21] the Flavian text records that the likeness of Titus is dedicated to him in his human capacity, as plainly shown by the imperial titulature. This raises the delicate question of the sense in which so many monuments, imperial statues in particular,[22] are recorded to have been dedicated to the individual they represent.[23] The rite seems in the main to have applied to the likenesses of emperors rather than of worthy private citizens[24] and doubtless placed these monuments in a higher sphere that invested them with special awe and a right to respect or reverence protecting them from disfigurement.[25] But besides transforming the monument from private into public property,[26] the term *dedicatio* seems in general to have more and more assumed the non-technical meaning of ceremonial inauguration, often complete with banquets and other festivities.[27] While the provincial priest was acting in a ritual capacity at Emerita, therefore, the dedication to Titus seems to have been more akin to a civil rather than a religious proceeding. In practice C. Arruntius Catellius with the assistance of Ṃ. Iunius Latro has performed a rite that had become secularized.

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[19] Eck (1993) 158–9. See further the examples at Corduba and Troesmis below, pp. 297, 299.

[20] Fishwick, Priesthoods (1999) 101–2. Essentially the protomé was dedicated by the provincial council, the rite having been performed by the provincial governor with the cooperation of the provincial priest.

[21] Düll (1962) 145–6, 150–1.

[22] For an inventory of imperial statues in Spain see now Garriguet (2001).

[23] On the laicized form of the original votive dative see in general Vol. II, 1, 439–42.

For confirmation of this interpretation one may turn to a text at Corduba recording that the province, that is the provincial council, has set up what must be an imperial statue, in this case an honorific monument rather than a statue designed to be carried in procession:[28]

> — | [*provincia Baetica dev*]*ọṭa* | [*numini maiest*]*ạṭịq(ue) eor(um)* | *dedicạ*[*nt*]*ẹ M(arco) Aur(elio) Alexandro* | *p*[*roc(uratore) A*]*ugg. nn. v(iro) e(gregio) agẹnṭe vice* | *praesidịs* | [*flamo*]*n(io) M(arci) Val(erii) Saturnini Lacipponens(is)*.
>
> (*CIL* $2^2$/7, 259; Pl. 64)

In this case too the verb following *provincia* is suppressed but in contrast to the previous text the rite of dedication is explicitly stated to have been performed by the provincial procurator in the governor's absence. Furthermore, in contrast to the Flavian record at Emerita, the event at

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For the distinction between dedication and consecration—that is, an act of dedication properly performed—see Vol. I, 2, 203 with n. 45. See further Pekáry (1985) 107–15, exploring the consecration and dedication of statues under the Empire in relation to whoever performed the ceremony.

[24] See nevertheless Pekáry (1985) 111 with n. 41, citing the dedication of statues of governors, patrons, soldiers and women; cf. Düll (1962) 148.

[25] Rollin (1979) 175–82; Witschel, Kaiserbildnisse (1995) 362, 366, nn. 62ff., observing that imperial statues on a forum could offer asylum to hunted slaves, a practice that had an inmistakably religious background; cf. Pekáry (1985) 130–1. The fact that they were cleaned, oiled, salted, crowned and decorated also conveyed a certain religious aura even though such honorific statues were not regularly the recipents of direct cult. At Rome at least, even what were technically honorific statues might in exceptional circumstances be the object of spontaneous cult paid by the populace; cf. Witschel, *o.c.* 363.

[26] Düll (1962) 142–3, 145–6; Rollin (1979) 85; Witschel, *o.c.* 366, n. 62.

[27] Pekáry (1985) 108, 110–14, followed by Witschel, *ibid.*

[28] Vol. III, 2, 222–3, 246.

Corduba is dated by the priesthood of the provincial priest, who must once again have been present, so doubtless assisted in the dedication. These differencies aside, the document clearly conforms to the type outlined above in recording the collaboration of the provincial priest with the provincial procurator in what had become a secular right of inauguration.

Two further records at Corduba similarly refer to statues set up to an imperial figure by the province, so plainly belong in the same context. A text on the pedestal of a statue to the emperor Philippus Arabs, dated to the period 1 January to 9 December A.D. 245,[29] attests a dedication by the province during the priesthood of L. Valerius Fuscinus, who was necessarily present at the ceremony. The single element missing here in comparison with the two previous texts is the participation of the provincial governor or his representative in the act of dedication.[30] The text can nevertheless be classified with this group in light of the fact that it concerns the dedication of an imperial statue:

> *[Im]p(eratori) Caes(ari) |[M(arco) Iu]ḷio Philippo | P̣io Felic(i) ⟨⟨inv(icto) Aug(usto)⟩⟩ | pontif(ici) max(imo) trib(unicia) | pot(estate) II co(n)suli p(atri) p(atriae) proco(n)s(uli) | prov(incia) Baet(ica) ex decret(o) con|cili devot(a) numini maiestatiq(ue) | eius dedic(avit) | flamonio L(uci) Valeri Fuscini Cordubensis.*
> (*CIL* $2^2$/7, 255; Pl. 63)

Much the same sort of situation appears to be documented on an inscribed base that once supported a statue to the empress Salonina, probably in A.D. 259 rather than a year or two earlier:[31]

> *D̄(ominae) n̄(ostrae) Corneliae Saloninae | Aug(ustae) coniugi d̄(omini) n̄(ostri) | Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) P(ubli) Licini Gallieni | Pii Fel(icis) et invicti Aug(usti) | Dacici maximi Germanici | maximi trib(unicia) potest(ate) I̅I̅I̅I̅ | consulis I̅I̅I̅ imp(eratoris) I̅I̅I̅ p(atris) p(atriae) proco(n)s(ulis) | provincia{e} Baetica{e} devota | numini maiestatiq(ue) eius| COR*[—] | — ? (*CIL* $2^2$/7, 258)

As the last lines of the text are lost, the completion of *Cor*[… in l. 10 is entirely uncertain. But since the province was dedicator, the reference can hardly be to the *respublica Cordubensis* as in a companion text that the city of Corduba set up—likewise on the colonial forum—to Gallienus, the husband of Salonina (*CIL* $2^2$/7, 257). Stylow suggests a possible reference to the provincial priest but cautions that the formula *Cor*[*nelio*

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[29] Vol. III, 2, 220, 246; Panzram (2002) 191–2 with n. 325 and refs.

[30] *CIL* $2^2$/7, 256 is too defective for inclusion as a possible parallel text. See Vol. III, 2, 220, n. 9.

[31] For divided opinion on the date see Stylow *ad CIL* $2^2$/7, 258.

— *flamine*] would be out of line with other texts at Corduba in which one finds *flamonio* with the name of the priest in the genitive; in other words the provincial priest is cited eponymously (above: *CIL* $2^2$/7, 255, 259). Nor does it seem plausible to read *cur*[*ante* …] with the name of the provincial governor (or his representative)[32] as the participle used in the single comparable instance one has at Corduba is *dedicante* (cf. *CIL* $2^2$/7, 259), exactly as given at Troesmis (below) and restored at Sarmizegetusa (above: *IDR* 3/2, 79). With the reading uncertain the problem is best left unresolved. The key point for present purposes is that the province has set up an imperial statue, in which case it is at least within the bounds of possibility that a reference to the governor (or his representative) and/or the provincial priest stood in the missing final section. If so, either or both of these will have been associated with the rite of dedication.[33]

### iii. *Private Dedications*

An inscribed base from Troesmis records the dedication of a partly defaced statue to the emperor Elagabalus *ca*. A.D. 218:

> *Imp(eratori) Caesari M(arco) | Aurelio A*[*n*]*ṭọṇị*|[*n*]*o Pio fel(ici) Aug(usto) | Divi Severi ṇ*[*ep*]*ọṭị | Divi Antonini* [*f*]*ịḷ(io) dedi*|*cante T(ito) Fl(avio) Novio Rufo | leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Antipater | sacerd(otalis) provin(ciae) et bis du*|*umvira(lis) ob hon(orem) pontif(icatus).*
>
> (*IScM* 5, 151; Pl. 71)

The distinctive feature of the Troesmis text is that it refers to a *private* monument which is explicitly stated to have been set up by the *sacerd(otalis) provin(ciae)*, M. Ulpius Antipater, in celebration of his appointment as local *pontifex*. As in other examples, the rite of dedication has been carried out by the provincial governor doubtless with the assistance of the (past) provincial priest.[34] Presumably this was a purely personal arrangement as Antipater no longer held provincial office at the time. Whatever the precise circumstances, it would appear that the same procedure is documented in the private sphere at Troesmis as in the public at Sarmizegetusa, Emerita and Corduba (above): that is, a provincial priest—in this case following his term of office—has joined in a rite of dedication which in most of the examples above has been carried out by the provincial governor or his representative.

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[32] For two *tituli* dedicated to Septimius Severus and Julia Domna by the *res publica Ulpianum*—therefore in a purely secular context—*curante Q. Anicio Fausto leg. Augustorum pr. pr.* see *CIL* 3, 1685–6 (Mustapha Pascha Palanka).

[33] I am greatly indebted to G. Di Vita-Evrard for arguments excluding any connection of *CIL* $2^2$/7, 255, 258, 259 with the implementation at Corduba of a regulation comparable to that of the Lex Narbonensis regarding the expenditure of surplus(?) provincial funds on imperial statues or busts: *CIL* 12, 6038: lines 26–8; cf. Vols. III, 1, 119–26, 167; III, 2, 14. The latter likenesses were surely for ritual rather than honorific purposes (above, p. 274).

[34] Vol. III, 2, 286–8.

A number of other dedications are worth citing here for the distinction they clearly draw between an official rite performed by a provincial priest acting on behalf of the province, that is to say the provincial council, and a dedication made by a provincial priest for his own purposes. Whereas the Troesmis text illustrates a private dedication made jointly by a past provincial priest and the governor of a province, in the following examples the provincial priest acts alone.

In the region below Poetovio in Upper Pannonia the provincial priest M(?). Aurelius Maximus, who had been *decurio* at the colony of Poetovio, then apparently excused the office of *duumvir quinquennalis*,[35] gladly paid his vow to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Culminalis, the god who had earned it, *pro salute sua et Aureliae Marcellinae coniugis suorumque omnium*.[36] While Aurelius was apparently still provincial *sacerdos* at the time he paid his vow, the dedication is certainly private and not made on behalf of the province (*AIJ* 449; Pl. 70). Much the same circumstance are recorded at Napoca, where P. Aelius Maximus, who had had a distinguished local career and was evidently *sacerdos arae Augusti nostri coronatus Daciarum Trium* at the time, set up a private dedication to the Matronae Gesahenae *pro se et suis* (Piso, Epigraphica [XI], 1980, 126–7).[37] Similarly at Sarmizegetusa, M. Cominius Quintus, provincial *sacerdos arae Aug(usti)* set up a marble altar in honour of his dutiful sister, wife of a *quinquennalis* of the colony, *l(oco) d(ato) d(ecurionum) d(ecreto)*—so plainly a private dedication (*IDR* 3/2, 108).[38] Similarly a past provincial priest whose name is lost set up, perhaps also at Sarmizegetusa, a marble plaque (altar?) to some unknown individual—to all appearancies likewise a private dedication (*IDR* 3/2, 353).[39]

With the above examples, almost all of which concern private dedications by a provincial priest or ex-priest on behalf of himself, a family

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[35] For emendation of the text *ex curat(ore)* to *excusat(us)* see Vol. III, 2, 270–2 with n. 10 and Pl. 70.

[36] Vol. III, 2, 268, 274.

[37] Vol. III, 2, 255–7 with n. 3, 260–2, 264.

[38] Vol. III, 2, 256–7, 261–3.

[39] Vol. III, 2, 256, 263.

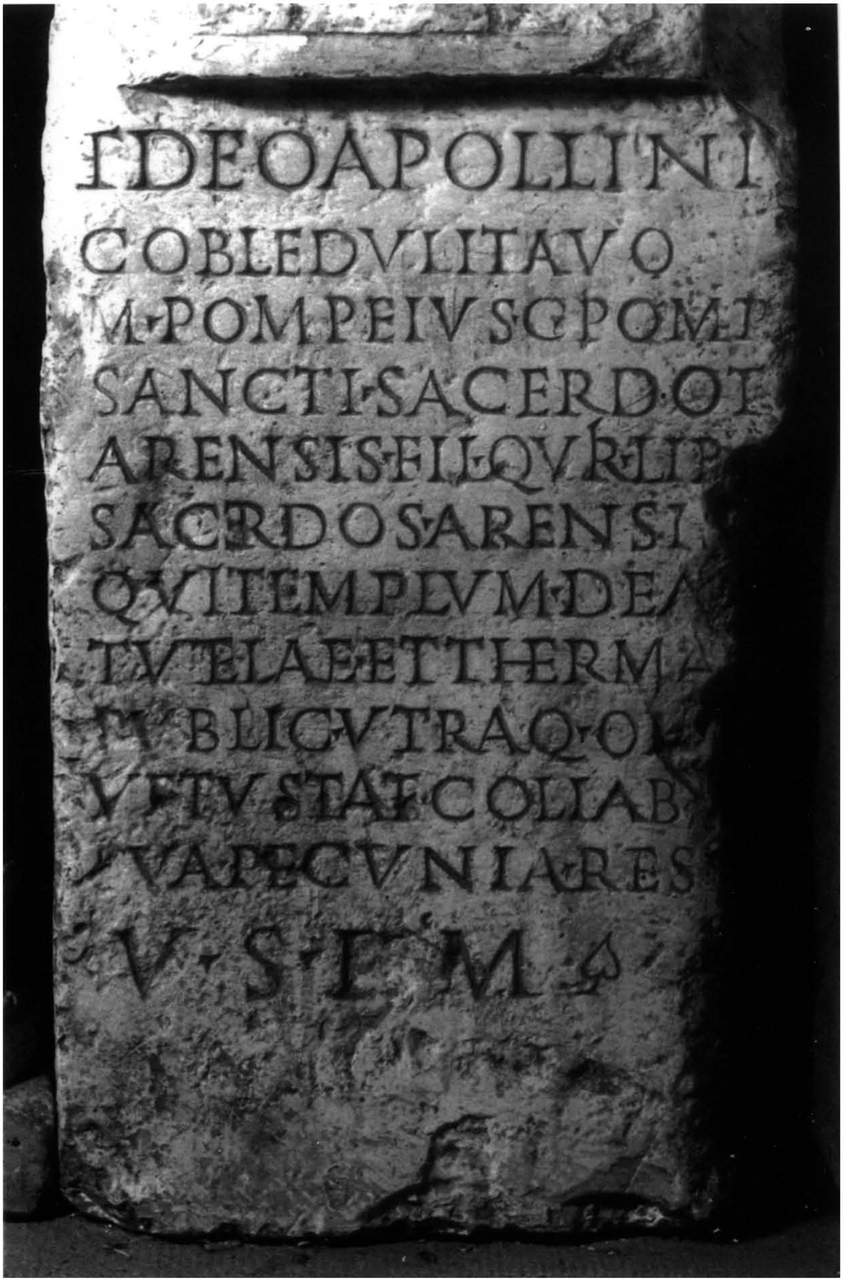
I DEO APOLLINI
COBLEDVLITAVO
M·POMPEIVS C·POM·I
SANCTI·SACERDOT
ARENSIS·FIL·QVIR·LIB
SACRDOS ARENSI
QVI TEMPLVM·DEA
TVTELAE ET THERMA
PVBLIC VTRAQ·OB
VETVSTAT·COLLAB
SVA PECVNIA RES
V·S·L·M

Plate 154. Dedication to unknown god and Deus Apollo Cobledulitavus by M. Pompeius Libo.

member or family members, may lastly be compared private dedications by a provicial priest to a divinity of some sort. A defective inscription at the Confluence records that a [*sac(erdos)*?] *ad aram C*[*aes. n.*?… (*CIL* 13, 1717), evidently a *civis Veliocassis*, has paid his vow to a god whose name is lost.[40] The text is undated but looks linked to the Severan period by the mention of the *ara C*[*aes. n.* ? and is clearly a private dedication on the part of a federal priest who was not acting on behalf of Tres Galliae. A further text, found in this case at Argentomagus in Aquitania, records that a federal priest of Tres Galliae made a dedication to Cybele: [*M*]*atri Deum* [… | … *sa*]*cerd(os) ar*[*ensis/ae* (*AE*, 1973, 343).[41] The stone was found far away from the sanctuary by Lugdunum and was clearly a private act of devotion by a federal priest, more likely following rather than during his term of office, which he had apparently served at a time before the cult was extended to include the deified dead and the Temple of Tres Galliae had been brought into cultic use. The dedication provides further evidence of the spread and popularity of the cult of Mater Deum, the heyday of which we have seen to date from the Antonine period (above, pp. 259–60). A third federal priest, M. Pompeius Libo, whose title *sacerdos arensis* likewise dates his term to the period before cult was offered at the provincial temple,[42] gladly paid his vow by making a dedication at Vessuna to a god whose name is not preserved and to Deus Apollo Cobledulitavus (*ILA Pétrucores* 16: above, p. 267, n. 125; Pl. 154). The dedication with its record of the restoration of the temple of Dea Tutela and the local baths, both long tottering with age, clearly identifies this as a private dedication set up privately in his *patria* by a federal priest, again probably following his term of office.

Outside Tres Galliae it remains to register a number of private dedications in Upper Pannonia. At Aquae Iasae L. Claudius Moderatus, provincial priest of Pannonia Superior, erected a statue of Minerva Augusta.[43] An Augustan god is certainly an appropriate recipient of a dedication by a provincial priest but the circumstance that the location is away from the provincial centre at Savaria underlines the private character of the rite. Furthermore, on the latest reading of the undated text Moderatus will have been a past priest at the time and member of the judical decuries: *sacerdot(alis) arae Aug(usti), e quinque decuriis* (*AE*, 1983, 774). Similarly, near Siscia G. D[...] Victorinus, provincial priest of Upper Pannonia, joined with his son and his wife in a dedication to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Nundinarius for the welfare of the emperor Gordian in A.D. 238 (*CIL* 3, 10820).[44] The location and the collaboration of the priest with members of his family emphasize again that this is a private act. Lastly Octavius(?) Faustinianus, who was certainly a past provincial priest at the time, gave a statue of a Genius to a college of artisans at Carnuntum and dedicated it for the *salus* of the reigning emperor Elagabalus (*AE*, 1968, 422a-b: 23rd August, A.D. 219; Pl. 69a-b).[45] In its intention this corresponds to the dedication of Victorinus at Siscia but once again is a strictly private act by a past provincial priest. These three dedications from Pannonia Superior are nevertheless plainly germane to the office of provincial priest in all relating to the well-being of the emperor.

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[40] Vol. III, 1, 200–2; III, 2, 67.
[41] Vol. III, 2, 62.
[42] Vol. III, 2, 62.
[43] Vol. III, 2, 268, 271–2, 274.

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[44] Vol. III, 2, 267, 272, 274.

[45] Vol. III, 2, 268–9, 271, 273.

## CHAPTER SIXTEEN

# GAMES

As outlined earlier, from Hellenistic to Roman times public holidays were customarily observed by holding games.[1] At Rome itself the practice reached its peak in the fourth century, when the calendar of Philocalus (A.D. 354) records ten days set aside for gladiatorial combat, sixty-four for *circenses* and a hundred and one for *scaenici* (*Inscrit* 13, 2, 42).[2] Wherever displayed, games served the purposes of the state in integrating society and promoting consensus with the reigning dynasty.[3] The most spectacular entertainment took the form of gladiatorial combats (*munera*) or the slaughter of wild beasts in the arena (*venationes*), the background of which has aready been considered. It is sufficient to recall that mortal combats have been thought a substitute for human sacrifice, wild beast hunts a systematization and exaggeration of ritual offerings.[4] Whatever their origin, the popularity of such spectacles was so great that they were inevitably associated with manifestations of solidarity with the emperor and are consequently attested as an adjunct of his cult at Rome and across the empire.[5] In Asia, for example, provincial games were sponsored by the *koinon* and hence known as the κοινὰ Ἀσίας, though the only games known to have been established in conjunction with a provincial cult are those which were associated with the cult of Roma and Augustus at Pergamum and probably held annually or biennially rather than every five years.[6] Whatever the precise development here, there is abundant evidence that in the eastern provinces in general games became an expensive liturgy of the provincial priest.[7]

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[1] Vol. II, 1, 574–84.

[2] Ville (1981) 172.

[3] For analysis of the political and psychological dimensions of spectacles see Clavel-Lévêque (1984) 69–72.

[4] Vol. II, 1, 574–5; Clavel-Lévêque (1984) 63–8; Auget (1994) 19–23.

[5] Ville (1981) 175ff.; Clavel-Lévêque (1984) 35, 70 with n. 232.

[6] Friesen (1993) 114–5, noting that at other centres games were likely in existence before the introduction of a provincial cult. See in general Price (1984) 104–5, 109–10; Hertz (1992) 112.

[7] Deiniger (1965) 160–1; Vol. II, 1, 577. Rives (1994) notes that in the Greek east in general games were often a liturgy separate from that of the priesthood and undertaken

Much the same characteristics are observable in the western provinces, where at Tarraco in particular the circus located within the provincial enclave strikingly illustrates the role of games within provincial celebrations. We have already noted two occasions when the benefactions of a provincial priest extended to the construction of an amphitheatre for the provision of games. At Lugdunum an inscription shows that C. Iulus Rufus and his *nepos* constructed the earliest phase of the federal amphitheatre at some point between A.D. 10 and 15 (*ILA, Santons* 7: Text C).[8] Its site at the western end of the federal sanctuary, just beside the promontory topped by the federal altar and temple, shows the key role it played in the ceremonies of the federal cult (above, p. 120). A similar example is the construction at Tarraco, probably under Trajan or Hadrian, of an amphitheatre by gift of an unknown provincial priest whose title is still preserved by a large inscription that probably stood above one of the entrances (*AE*, 1990, 653; above. pp. 38–9).[9] Both of these facilities were made possible by the private generosity of a provincial priest and confirm the importance of wealth as a necessary qualification for election to the prestigious position of high priest of the province. But apart from such exceptional, private *beneficia* it is clear that provincial priests were regularly expected to spend vast sums on providing entertainment for the masses. In the western provinces as in the eastern the funding of games became in practice a liturgy of the high priest,[10] who is represented on an ivory diptych of *ca.* A.D. 400, for example, in the act of presiding at the amphitheatre (Vol. II, 1, Pl. LXXXVIa-b).[11] In fact in the case of Sextus Iulius Thermianus, whose inscription happens to have survived, it looks very much as though the games he had displayed as *flamen Aug. munerarius* at Sens were a factor in his election to federal office at the sanctuary of the Three Gauls.[12] The obligation of the provincial priest to underwrite expensive games

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by a different official, the *agonothete*. On the financing of local games see Hertz (1997) 250–2.

[8] Vol. III, 1, 92–4; III, 2, 17–18, 26, 36, 42, 61.

[9] Panzram (2002) 57 with n. 200 and refs., listing further examples of amphitheatres built by private benefactions.

[10] Clavel-Lévêque (1984) 70 with n. 232; Auget (1994) 29; Vol. II, 1, 579; III, 2, 302.

[11] For a photograph of the *editoris tribunal* of the Emerita amphitheatre with sketched reconstruction of the eastern tribunal see Nogales Basarrate, Espectáculos (2000) 129, Láms. XIII A, B.

[12] Vol. III, 2, 23, 37–8, 63; Pls. 21–2.

has been questioned*[13] but is abundantly confirmed by the epigraphic and literary evidence considered below. As we have seen, the Lex Narbonensis lays down that the provincial *flamen* has the right to a front seat at games, seated among the decurions or senators, also that former priests are entitled to be present, presumably sitting in concert (*CIL* 12, 6038, lines 5–9, 15–16).[14]

## i. munera

### a. Gladiatorial combats and hunts

The best known example of provincial *munera* in the west is the ostentatious display put on by T. Sennius Sollemnis at Lugdunum *ca.* A.D. 220 (*ILTG* 341).[15] A well known dedication on a marble statue base at Vieux records that he put on *omn*]*e genus spectaculorum*, which are stated to have included thirty-two gladiatorial combats, eight fought over four days *sine missione*—that is, to the death:[16]

> … *Flamen perpetu?*]*us in* | [*s*]*ua c*[*i*]*vitate eodemque tem*[*po*]*re sacerdo*[*s*] | *R*[*om*]*ae* [*et Augusti ad aram, omn*]*e genus spec*|*taculorum e*[*did*]*it:* [*fu*]*erunt gladia*[*to*]|*r*[*um c*]*ertam(ina) n(umero) XXXII, ex quibus per qua*[*d*]|*riduum* [*n(umero)*] *V*[*III*] *s*[*ine*] *missione edideru*[*nt.* | …
>
> *ILTG* 341; Vol. I, 2, Pls. LXXII–LXXIII

The basic commentary is that of Pflaum, who follows Hirschfeld in connecting *in sua civitate* with some preceding phrase—though nothing confirms the completion *munerarius*, from which it would follow that Sollemnis organized gladiatorial combats at Aragenuae, the capital of the Viducasses, as well as at the Confluence;[17] in view of *eodemque tempore* a religious post in his own *civitas* looks likelier, as proposed by Wuilleu-

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[13] Rives (1994) 280 with n. 20. But see Ville (1981) 212–3, above all the *s.c. de sumptibus ludorum gladiatorum minuendis*, line 18: *Iam sacerdos esse et cupio et opto et editionem muneris, quam olim detestabamur, amplector* … (*CIL* 2, 6278; cf. *AE*, 1909, 184).

[14] Vol. II, 1, 579–80; III, 2, 6, 9–10.

[15] Vol. I, 2, 134–5; II, 1, 580; III, 2, 41, 45, 67.

[16] Forbidden by Augustus, these combats re-appeared in the second and third centuries. See Ville (1981) 403–7, 409–24; Auget (1994) 60–1; Bernet (2002) 200–1, misunderstanding the details of the Thorigny inscription.

[17] Pflaum (1948) 13, cf. 16.

Plate 155a. Gladiatorial law reducing rents payable for gladiators. Copy found at Itálica, Baetica.

Plate 155b. Detail of cross-section, gladiatorial law from Itálica.

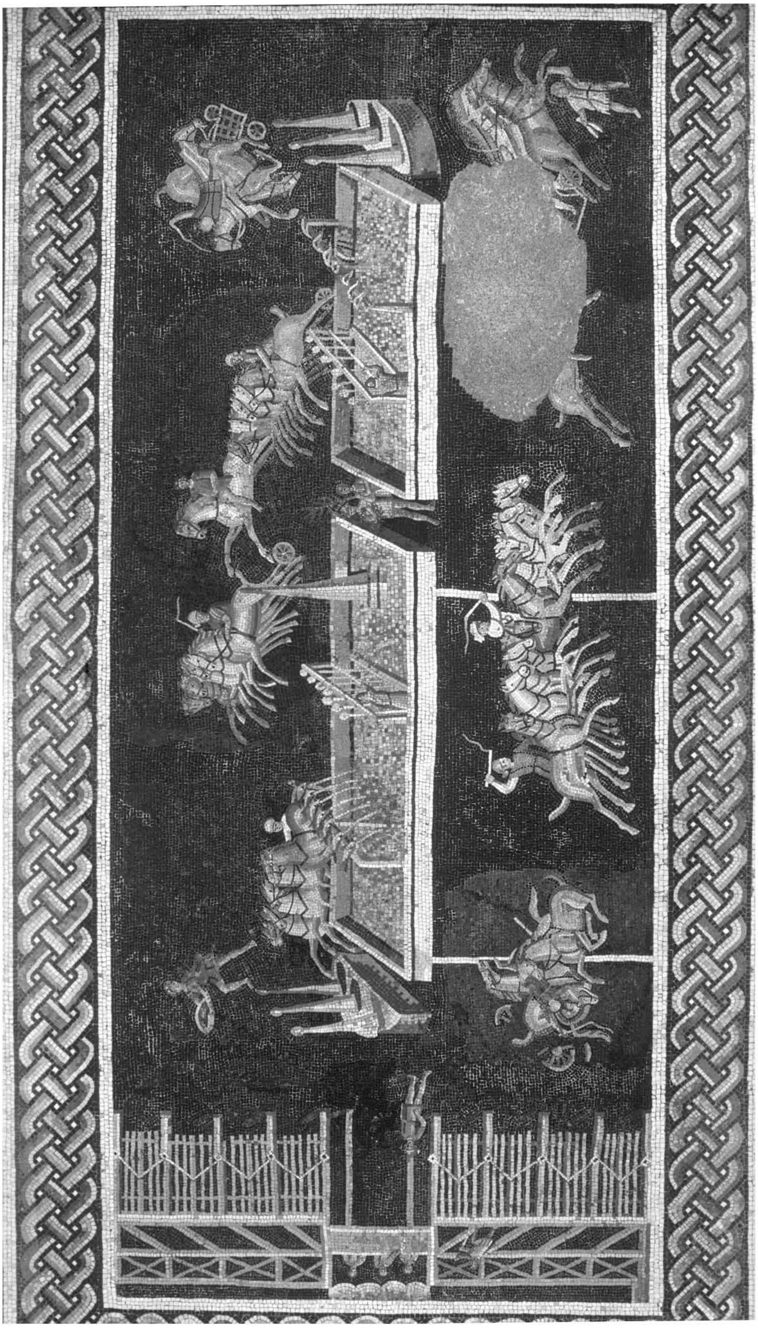

Plate 156. Ainay mosaic of circus games.

Plate 157. Lamp showing gladiatorial scene, Emerita.

mier in *ILTG* 342 (above); cf. *AE* (1981) 624 *et passim.*[18] Pflaum rightly notes that thirty-two pairs of gladiators fought during a space of four days, therefore eight combats a day, but takes the text to mean that all thirty-two fought to the death: "le chiffre des 32 pairs de gladiateurs qui pendant 4 jours de suite se sont livré à mort".[19] The Latin would seem to mean rather that of the thirty-two combats eight were displayed *sine*

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[18] Vol. I, 2, 323 G; III, 2, 65.
[19] Pflaum, *o.c.* 13.

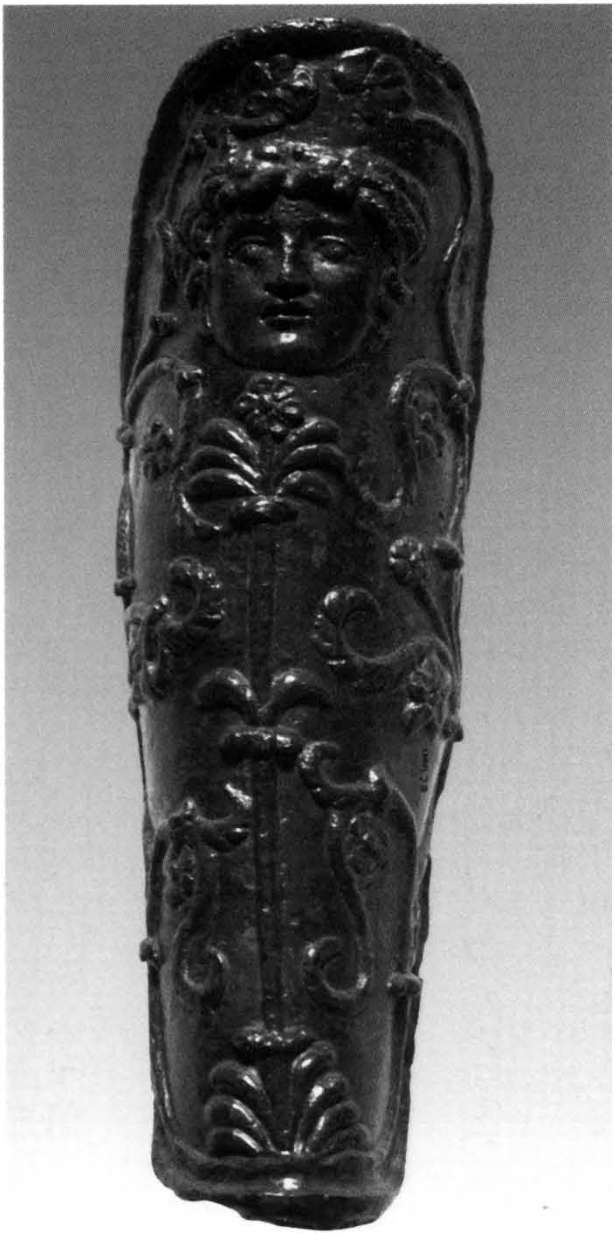

Plate 158. Obverse of bronze leggin worn by gladiator, Emerita.

Plate 159. Fragment of plate relief showing gladiator, Emerita.

*missione* during the space of four days.[20] In other words, of the eight combats exhibited each day, presumably two were fought without quarter, the other six granted *missio*. In that case the games would have concluded with "only" four gladiators certainly killed, a more economical proposition than the sixteen deaths understood by Pflaum. How precisely the gladiators engaged in combat is not stated, though there is plenty of iconographical evidence at western provincial centres to suggest the wide range of possiblities attested elsewhere—*Thraeces*, *hoplomachi*, *secutores*, *retiarii*, *murmillones* and so on, each with his individual arms and techniques (Pls. 157–67).[21] As for the expenses incurred by Sollemnis, Pflaum follows the regulations of the *s.c de sumptibus ludorum gladiatorum minuendis* (*ILAndal* 2, 2, 339; Pl. 155a, b) regarding the rent appropriate to the five grades of gladiators (*ibid.* lines 29–35) to arrive at a total of HS 332,000,[22] a very considerable outlay. A good part of this might nevertheless have been recouped by trading gladiators to his successor (*ibid.* lines 59–61).

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[20] So plainly Ville (1981) 404, without referenc to *per quadriduum*: "Mais, au IIIe siècle, nous voyons un grand prêtre de l'autel du confluent donner, sur 32 paires de combattants engagés, huit *sine missione* (CIL XIII 3162; cf. H. G. Pflaum, *Le marbre de Thorigny*) ..." .

In addition Pflaum notes that Sollemnis had to pay for prizes to the victors (*ibid.* lines 45–6) "sans parler de tout ce qui est sous entendu par *omn*]*e genus spectaculorum*".[23] What this phrase might imply is unclear. *Omn*]*e* is largely restored but looks safe, so, if one can press the sense of *spectacula*,[24] Sennius Sollemnis would appear to have displayed chariot races and theatre shows as well as gladiatorial fights in the amphitheatre. A reference to *ludi circenses*, as vividly portrayed by the Ainay mosaic (Plate 156), would be the sole epigraphical confirmation that a provincial priest funded races at Lugdunum,[25] though such an event is firmly attested at Corduba (below, pp. 315–17, 337–8). On the other hand, if *spectacula* also includes *ludi scaenici*, which would in that case have been staged at the theatre beside the odeon of Fourvière (Vol. II, 1, Pls. CXI–II), this would be the sole evidence of any kind in the west that a provincial priest supported the costs of theatrical entertainment. Whatever its wider implication, *omne genus spectaculorum* must at the very least refer to different forms of entertainment at the amphitheatre,[26] in which case the question arises whether, in addition to diverse combats between gladiators, Sennius Sollemnis also put on *venationes*—whether animals matched with one another, animals pitted individually against

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[21] Auget (1994) 46–53, 56–61; Bernet (2002) 132–41. For a helpful overview of evidence relating to *munera* exhibited at the the amphitheatre of Emerita see Nogales Basarrate, Espectáculos (2000) 61–73, 87–8.

[22] Pflaum (1948) 14–16.

[23] Pflaum, *o.c.* 16.

[24] OLD s.v. *spectaculum* 2; cf. *edo* 12; *circenses* b.

[25] For circus games given at Lugdunum by a local magistrate *ob honorem perpetui pontif.* see *CIL* 13, 1921 = *ILS* 7024.

[26] For *spectacula* restricted to entertainment at the amphitheatre see Ville (1981) 387–8.

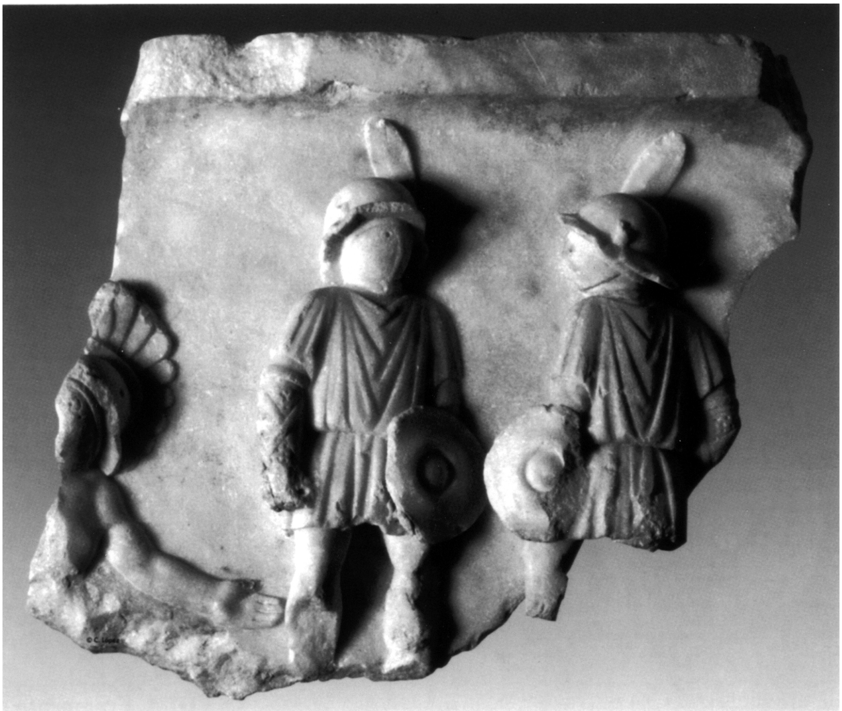

Plate 160. Relief showing group of gladiators, Emerita.

a *venator*, or a general slaughter of various kinds of animals by a group of hunters.[27] Given that the lustre of a *munus* was regularly enhanced by adding a hunt,[28] this seems an attractive, if unverifiable, possibility. In any event the text makes clear that the central attraction of the games put on by T. Sennius Sollemnis was the spectacle of mortal combat.

In the Spains we have a comparable text on a *mensula* at Corduba recording that L. Iunius Paulinus was so rich that he gave gladiatorial games preceded by two *lusiones* to celebrate his appointment to the priesthood of Baetica, and set up statues to the value of HS 400,000—an amount equal to that required for equestrian status—on account of the associated honours, marking their dedication with circus games:[29]

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[27] See in general Clavel-Lévêque (1984) 78–82; Ville (1981) 213; Auget (1994) 81–93; Bernet (2002) 245–53.

[28] Ville (1981) 386–8 *et passim.*

[29] Vol. III, 2, 233 with n. 49.

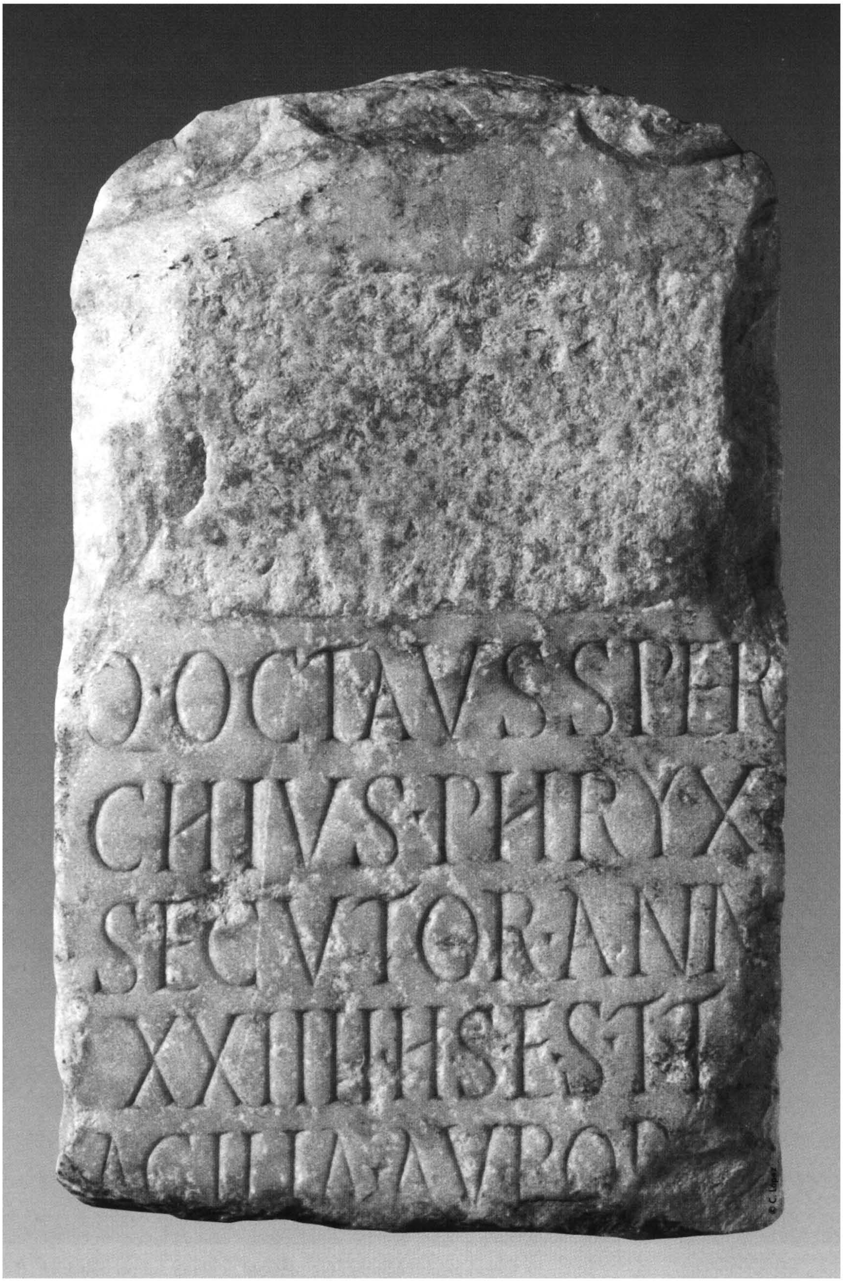
Q·OCTAVS·SPER
CHIVS·PHRYX
SECVTOR·ANN
XXIIII·H·S·E·S·T·T
© C. López

Plate 161. Inscription of Q. Octavus Sperchius *secutator*, Emerita.

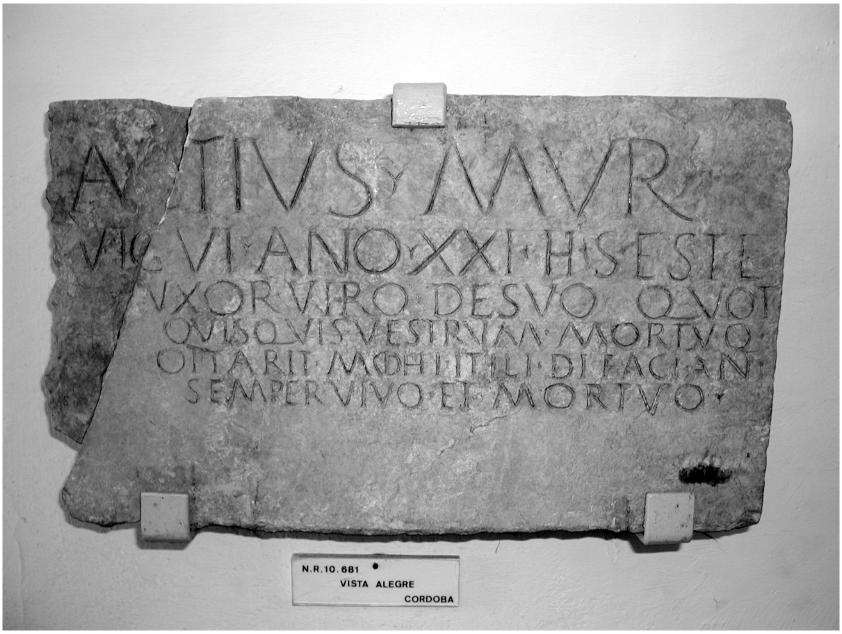
ACTIVS MVR
VIC VI ANO XXI H S EST E
VXOR VIRO DE SVO QVOT
QVISQVIS VESTRVM MORTVO
OPTARIT MIHI IT ILLI DI FACIAN
SEMPER VIVO ET MORTVO
N.R.10.681
VISTA ALEGRE
CORDOBA

Plate 162. Funerary inscription of the *murmillo* Actius, Corduba. Victorious six times, he met his death at the age of twenty-one.

> *Colonia Patric(ia) | L(ucius) Iunius P(ubli) f(ilius) Ser(gia) Paulinus pontif(ex) flamen perpet(uus) (duum)vir c(olonorum) c(oloniae) P(atriciae) flam(en) provinc(iae) | Baet(icae) edito ob honorem flaminatus munere gladiatorio et duabus lusionib(us) | statuas quas ob honores coniunctos promiserat ex ⊂sestertium⊃ $\overline{\text{CCCC}}$ posuit et factis circiens(ibus) ded(icavit).* *CIL* $2^2$ /7, 221, Pl. 66

Presumably *ob honores coniunctos* includes the honours due to present and past priests as mentioned in the Lex Narbonensis (*CIL* 12, 6038: lines 1–16)[30] and is equivalent to the phrase *honores quantos quisque maximos consecutus est* in other texts at Corduba.[31] Of particular interest is the unusual reference to *lusiones*. In this connection an early third-century, inscribed marble base from the *cryptoporticus* of the sanctuary of Fortuna at Praeneste has clarified the meaning of the term. As the text makes clear, the base supported an honorific statue of M. Aurelius Iulius Eupraepes, who will have been represented standing, leaning on his left leg with the right slighty flexed or carried forward:

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[30] Vol. III, 1, 5–10.

[31] Vol. III, 1, 119–26, citing *CIL* $2^2$ /7, 291, 293, 295; cf. Vol. III, 2, 227.

> … *Ludos scaenicos Pal(alatina / atinorum?) relig(ione) d(ignos) | Fort(unae) Prim(igeniae) ededit. Convocatis etiam | corporib(us) colleg(iorum), cum honest(a) divis(ione) | sport(ularum), promeruit. Hic primus | Praenest(inorum), indulgent(ia) sacra | impetrata, die lusionis seu {con} | compositionis singul(as/atim/ares?) feras cum | par(ibus) gladiator(um) edidit et d[ie | mune]ris* [—] | —
> *AE* (1987) 230

By comparing the inscription of L. Iunius Paulinus with other epigraphical references to *lusiones* M. G. Granino Cerere has shown that the *lusio* was a preliminary bout preceding the *munus*, much as Degrassi had supposed.[32] It was at this moment that the *compositio* of the pairs of gladiators was decided—not by lot, then, but on the basis of the respective strengths and technical skills of the combatants, a procedure that naturally added to the excitement of the spectacle. As a result, *lusiones*—preliminary bouts that in practice were elimination contests—came to be spectacles that attracted public attention in their own right and hence were worth mentioning as exhibitions distinct from the following *munus*. This is clearly the case with the Corduba text. Whether animals were also exhibited on this preliminary occasion is uncertain.

With the Corduba text may be compared a local record found by Aquae Flaviae in Hispania citerior:

> *Deo Marti Vic|tori ob ev|entum bo|num gladi|atori mun|eris | Ceraeci|us Fuscu|s ex | voto. CIL* 2, 2473

C. Ceraecius Fuscus can hardly have staged an additional *munus* at the *municipium* of Aquae Flaviae—where there is in any case no trace of an amphitheatre[33]—given that as provincial priest (*RIT* 266)[34] he would have been obliged to finance gladiatorial games at provincial headquarters in Tarraco. His local career, it should be noted, is summarized at Tarraco by the standard formula *omnibus honoribus in re publica sua functus*—with no mention that he had provided local games—whereas Sextus Iulius Thermianus from Sens, for example, is recorded at the Confluence as *flamen Aug. munerarius in sua civitate* (*AE*, 1992, 1240: above, p. 306). Everything suggests, then, that in accordance with his vow Fus-

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[32] Granino Cerere (1987) 205–8, citing a text at Bulla Regia reading … *ob editionem lusionis* (*AE*, 1962, 184), also various passages in the *Fasti Ostienses* that clearly indicate an interval between *lusio* and *munus*: *InscrIt* 13, 1, fr. XXI (A.D. 107), fr. XXII (A.D. 108 and 113); cf. Vidman (1982) 16–18, 47–9 *ad* fr. XXXVI (Hadrian). See further *ThLL* 7, 1866 s.v. lusio 2; *CIL* 14, 4546 (Ostia).

[33] Balil (1961) 94–5.

[34] Vol. III, 2, 121.

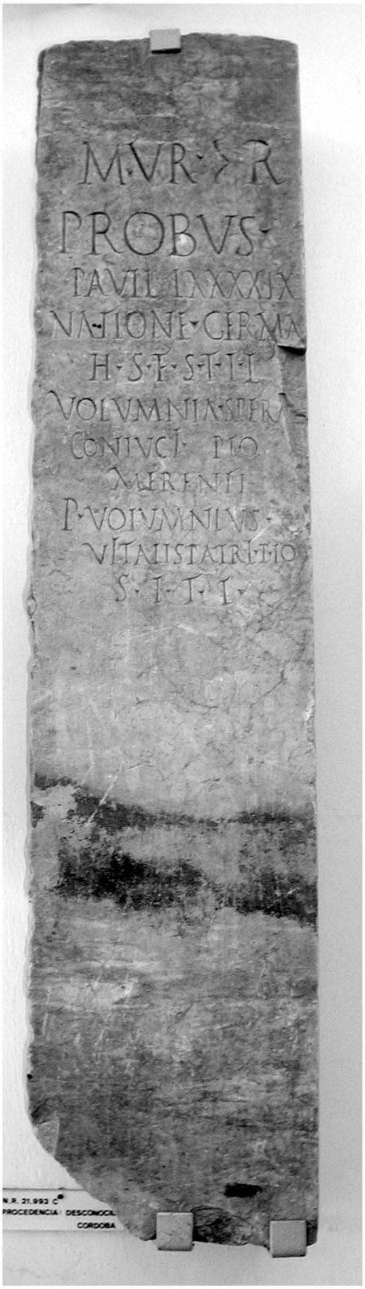
MVR·Ↄ·R
PROBVS·
PA VII LXXXXIX
NATIONE·GERMA
H·S·E·S·T·T·L
VOLVMNIA·SPER
CONIVGI· PIO
MERENTI
P·VOLVMNIVS·
VITALIS·PATRI·PIO
S·T·T·L·
N.R. 21.993 C
PROCEDENCIA: DESCONOCI
CORDOBA

Plate 163. Funerary inscription of Probus, *murmillo contra rete*, Corduba.

FELICIS
CERA

Plate 164. Illustration of gladiators, Lyon.

cus has made a dedication to Deus Mars Victor in his *patria*, following the successful outcome of the games he had displayed *at Tarraco* as a consequence of his appointment as *flamen provinciae Hispaniae citerioris*. In that case this local text from the *conventus Bracaraugustanus* provides further evidence for the provision of a *munus* by a provincial priest at the provincial centre.

In Africa in contrast the importance of providing public entertainment comes out in Augustine's comments on Apuleius' priesthood of Proconsularis. He reports that Apuleius made a fuss … *ut munera ederet venatoresque vestiret* (*Ep.* 138, 4, 19). Whatever its inherent difficulties,[35] the passage is consistent with epigraphic evidence elsewhere in attesting the

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[35] Vol. III, 2, 195–7.

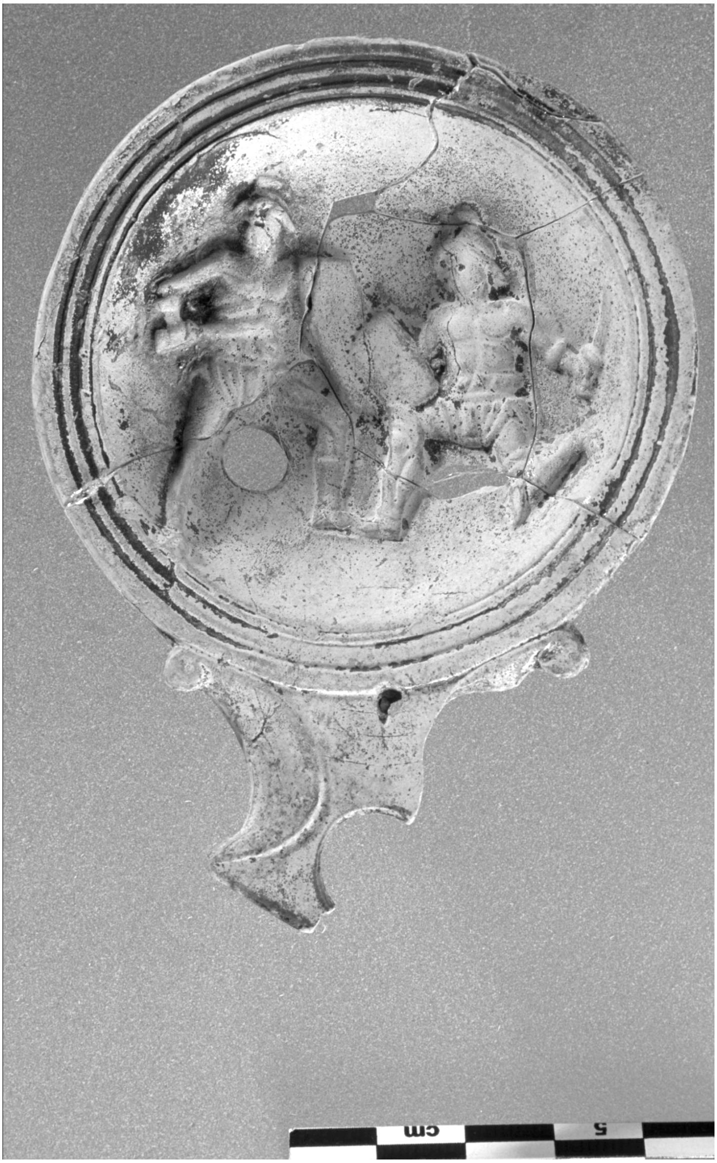
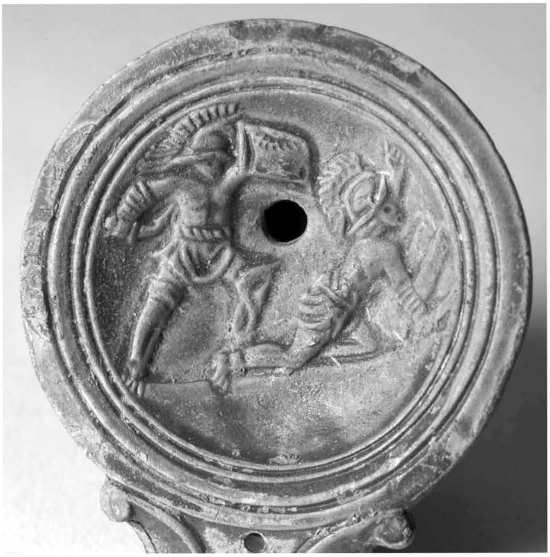


Plate 165. Gladiators shown on oil lamp, Lyon.

*editio* of *munera* on the part of provincial priests while adding the interesting detail that Apuleius clothed *venatores*. As it turns out, this is the sole direct evidence in the west for the staging of a hunt by a provincial priest—that is, unless one counts the exposure *ad bestias* of unarmed,



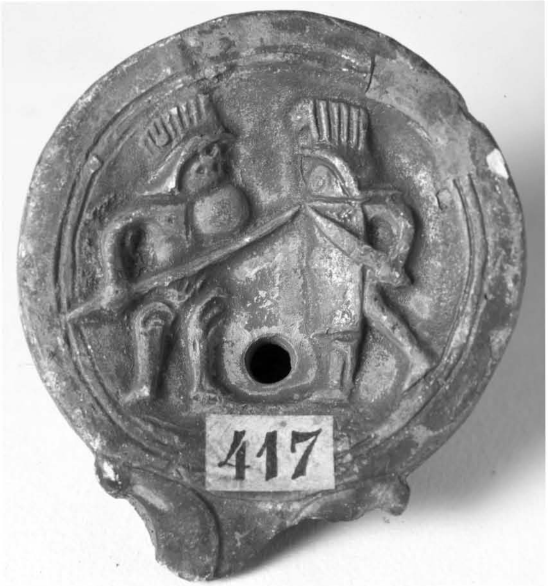


Plate 166–7. Gladiators shown on oil lamps, Lyon.

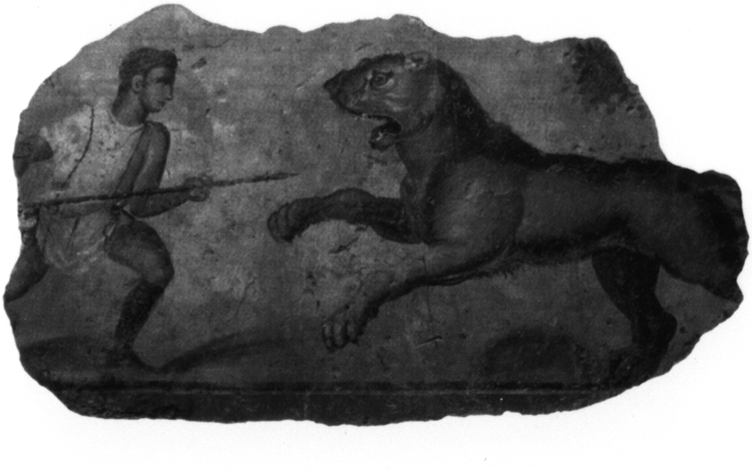


Plate 168. Wall painting showing hunting scene in amphitheatre of Emerita.

condemned miscreants, notably Christians, as a macabre inversion of hunting[36]—but we have noted earlier that *venationes* evolved into an integral part of *munera* (above, p. 314–15).

Originally a secondary form of entertainment relegated to the morning, hunts became a more or less obligatory episode of the same *spectaculum*, and with their transformation into wholesale massacres of animals were an ever-changing form of entertainment that could last for days (Pls. 168–9).[37] The hunters whom Augustine mentions are evidently men trained to fight wild beasts and slaughter them en masse armed with nothing more than a hunting spear (cf. Pl. 168). As for the clothes Apuleius provided, these seem to have been simple, close-fitting tunics in contrast to the suits of armour worn by heavily armed men who awaited an animal's attack at close quarters.[38] Whatever the precise details, the passage is significant for its explicit association of hunts with the *munera* put on by Apuleius, a combination possibly to be inferred at the games put on by T. Sennius Sollemnis at Lugdunum (*ibid.*).

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[36] On *damnatio ad bestias* see Ville (1981) 55, 231–40, 377–8, 393, 427; Auguet (1994) 93–96.

[37] Ville (1981) 144–5, 390–1 *et passim*; Auguet (1994) 81–106; Bernet (2002) 245–53.

[38] Auguet (1994) 81–106, especially 88–91 with plate 11(a) facing p. 96; Bernet (2002) 255.

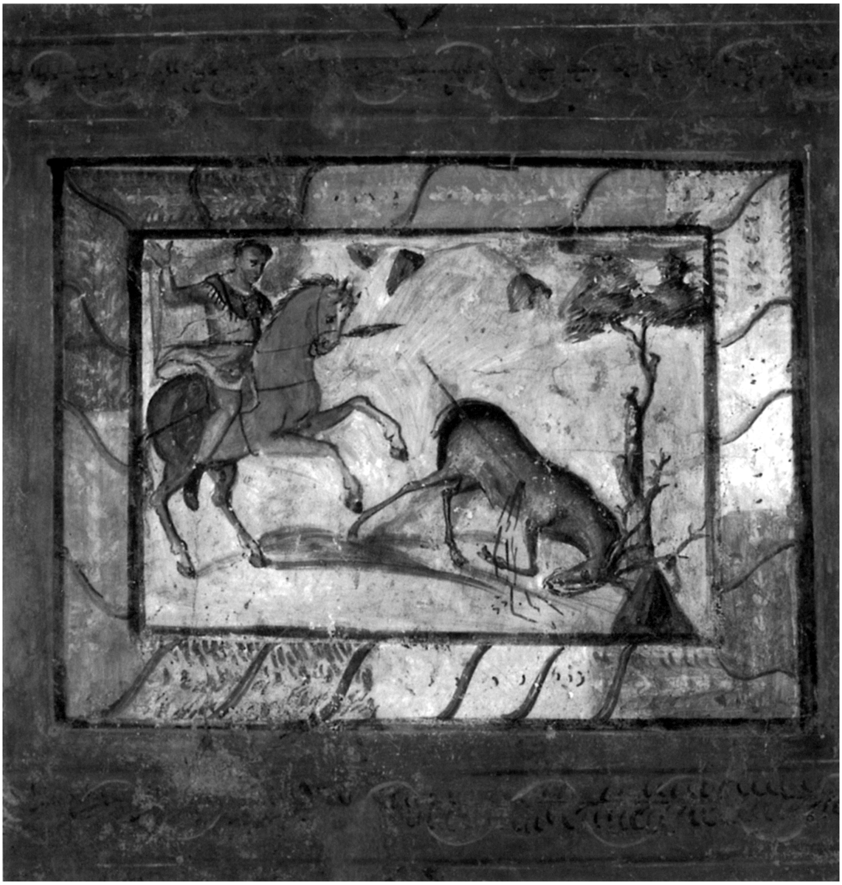

Plate 169. Wall painting with hunting scene, Emerita.

Limited as they are, the examples that have survived in the sources are sufficient to show why outlays could run as high as in the eastern provinces, where games became so costly that expenses had eventually to be split among several individuals.[39] The point in underlined by a decree of the senate, passed *ca.* A.D. 176 in the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, the intention of which was to lighten the burden on provincial priests by limiting the costs of gladiatorial games in various ways. The topic is of special interest to the Three Gauls, where it may well have a specific application at the Lugdunum amphitheatre

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[39] Vol. II, 1, 577.

(below, p. 326–7), but the circumstance that the minutes pertinent to the decree are partly preserved on a bronze tablet found at Italica in Baetica (*ILAndal* 2, 2, 339, Pls. 155a, b),[40] while fragments of the preceding imperial oration survive on a marble from Sardis in Asia, shows that the topic was of general interest in the Roman world and widely published by imperial order from the centre.

The Italica text, which is complete, records the central portion of the speech delivered by the senator who gave the *sententia prima* following the reading of the imperial oration.[41] Evidently news that the profits of the *lanista* were to be curtailed and that the *fiscus* had renounced monies accruing from the arena was greeted enthusiastically: … *statim sacerdotes fidelissimarum Galliarum vestrarum concursare, guadere, inter se loqui* … . In fact one priest, who had counted his fortune lost, reportedly rejoiced that the emperors had released him from the burden crushing his patrimony and even looked forward to being a priest (lines 14–18). Each item of the proposed legislation is then taken up verbatim and critized or amended as the speaker sees fit. Four categories of spectacles are distinguished according to expenditures incurred by the exhibitor ranging from HS 30,000 to 200,000 or over and in each category gladiators, classified in three or five grades, are to be rented out to an *editor muneris* at set maximum prices (lines 29–34). At every spectacle in each category half of those who fight shall consist of *gregarii*, who are not expected to engage in single combat, and there is a set price for whoever is rated superior and a minimum price for remaining members of the group. Out of the total establishent of *gregarii* equal numbers are to fight on individual days, when at least half of those engaged shall consist of *gregarii* (lines 35–40). Imperial officials of various rank shall ensure that the *lanistae* observe these regulations, and the share of prize money to be received by free and slave gladiators is set at a quarter and a fifth respectively. Whereas the prescribed prices for gladiators are to be observed strictly in *civitates* where they have previously been exorbitant, the speaker proposes that in less prosperous communities imperial officials may use their own discretion after inspecting the accounts for the last ten years (lines 40–55).

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[40] Deininger (1965) 105, n. 2 with refs.; Vol. II, 1, 580 (*minuendis* is misprinted) with n. 640; Piernavieja (1977) 80, pp. 183–96 with detailed statistics; Canto (1985) 538ff.

[41] For detailed commentary on the text and translation see Oliver–Palmer (1955) 327–43; Balil (1961) 11ff. with list of amphitheatres throughout the Roman world (72ff. with Appendix I).

Of particular interest for the present discussion is that the same price limits apply to gladiators in the Gallic provinces but the *lanista* is not to charge more than 2000 sesterces apiece for *trinqui*:[42] that is, prisoners condemned to death *qui in civitatibus splendidissimarum Galliarum veteri more et sacro ritu expectantur* (lines 56–8). The legislation recognizes that there will also be provinces in which provincial priests have no dealings with *lanistae* but take over gladiators bought and trained by previous priests or free fighters who have contracted to perform,[43] then after giving a spectacle pass them on to their successors. In these cases too no one may sell anyone for gladiatorial service at a price per person higher than the limit set for *lanistae*:

> 56 *Ad Gallias sed et ⟨t⟩rin⟨quo⟩s qui in civitatibus splendidissimarum Galliarum veteri more et sacro ritu expectantur ne ampliore pretio*
>
> 57 *lanistae praebeant quam binis milibus, cum maximi pr[in]c̣ipes oratione sua praedixerint fore ut damnatum a⟨d⟩ gladium*
>
> 58 *procurator eorum non pluṛe quam sex aureis ḷanistis prạ[ebea]t* vacat
>
> 59 *Sacerdotes quoque provinciarum, quibus nullu[m cum lanisti]s nego[tiu]ṃ [erit], gladiatores a prioribu[s s]acerdotibus sụ[s]*-
>
> 60 *ceptos, vẹḷ si pḷa⟨c⟩et auctoratos, recipiunt, at post editi[o]n(em) p̣ḷ[u]ṛẹ ex p̣[re]tio in succedentes tran[sf]ẹṛent. Ne quis singulatim aliquem*
>
> 61 *rei gladiatoriae causa vendat plure quam lanistis eṣṭ pretium perscṛ[ip]tum* vacat … .[44]

The extent to which these regulations must have relieved provincial priests from the ruinous costs of exhibiting *munera* is perfectly clear. All the more surprising, then, that only a few years after this edict was promulgated both L. Iunius Paulinus at Corduba and T. Sennius Sollemnis at Lugdunum distinguished their priestly tenures by expending vast sums on spectacles.

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[42] The Italica text reads at line 56: *Ad Gallias sedet princeps*, … , which is generally recognized as corrupt but originally referring to the *trinci*, who are mentioned in the surviving part of the Sardis marble, lines 10–16 at 12, 14. The word *princeps* was consequently emended by Piganiol (1920) to read *⟨t⟩rinc⟨o⟩s* or *⟨t⟩rin⟨quo⟩s*. For palaeographic support of Piganiol's emendation see Guey (1966).

[43] On voluntary enrolment as a gladiator see Auguet (1994) 155–9.

[44] For the text of line 59 see Oliver–Palmer (1955) 337, incorporating Piganiol's emendation with slight improvements and commentary. The version above indicates as uncertain several letters which are given as secure in *ILAndal* 2, 2, 339.

### b. Martyrdoms

The prospect of cheap victims for display at spectacles along with the reference to the use of *trinqui* in accordance with ancient Gallic ritual suggested to J. H. Oliver and R. E. A. Palmer a possible connection with the martyrdom of the Christians at Lugdunum in A.D. 177—just a year or so later than the promulgation of the senatorial decree on curtailing gladiatorial expenses.[45] The details of the pogrom make difficult reading in the *Acts of the Christian Martyrs*,[46] notably the passion of the female slave Blandina, who was publicly degraded, exposed to wild beasts, then finally killed off (Eusebius, *HE* 5, 1, 56) along with forty-eight of her fellow martyrs, a horrifying episode that culminated in the deposit of their ashes in a tributary of the Rhone.[47] While there is no direct confirmation in the letter that the Christian communities at Lyon and Vienne sent to their brethren in the churches of Asia and Phrygia (Eusebius, *o.c.* 5, 1),[48] the victims were certainly executed at a festival of the Three Gauls with imperial permision (*ibid.* 5, 1, 47) in what could well have passed for a sacrificial rite and after having been made a public spectacle in place of the usual variety of gladiatorial combats (*ibid.* 5, 1, 40). As the first episode of this event may have coincided with the birthday of Marcus Aurelius, the second certainly with the annual August festival of the Three Gauls, there can be no doubt of a connection with the federal imperial cult.[49]

Part of the background to the outbreak against the Christians at Lugdunum would on this view be the special privilege which the emperors had recently granted to the Three Gauls enabling priests to acquire condemned prisoners and use these *trinqui*—a Gallic(?) *hapax* for human sacrifical victims[50]—instead of gladiators for purposes of entertainment.[51] What provoked the persecution at Lugdunum on the other hand is far from clear. On the ingenious theory of A. Audin anti-Christian sentiment resulted from a clash between the followers of Christ and those of Cybele, whose cult is well in evidence in the region (above, pp. 259–60). In particular he calculates that in A.D. 177 Good Friday fell on 29th March and consequently coincided with the conclusion of the March cycle of festivals commemorating the passion of Attis.[52] R. Turcan, on the contrary, argues convincingly that it is unreasonable to infer a hypothetical coincidence of the Christian Holy Week with the metroac cycle of March in this year and that there is nothing to show the Christians fell prey to Phrygian fanaticism.[53] If the massacre had really been provoked by zealots of Attis, this would surely have been reported, yet there is no mention of Cybele in the letter sent to the Christian communities in Asia and Phrygia nor do patristic texts denounce Attis as a persecutor.[54] The local context regrettably escapes our knowlege but, as Christians were quick to denigrate the Galli of Magna Mater elsewhere, all the signs point away from rather than towards the followers of Cybele. Of particular interest for the present discussion is that this conclusion is strengthened by the ties between the Phrygian cult and imperial religion.[55] In practice the cult of the emperor swelled the tide of metroac fervour through the medium of the *taurobolium* performed for the emperor's *salus*, while *dendrophoroi* in particular strengthened loyalty to Rome by simultaneously serving as *severi Augustales*. It seems reasonable to infer, therefore, that at Lugdunum as at other colonies where the Phrygian cause triumphed Christians became unpopular because in contrast to the worshippers of Cybele they hesitated or refused to serve the cult of the emperor.

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[45] Oliver–Palmer (1955) 324–6; Ville (1981) 12, n. 41, 223, 235, n. 18; Vol. II, 1, 580. For a review of the principal problems surrounding the events at Lyon see Pelletier–Rossiaud (1990) 216–18.

[46] Musurillo (1972) no. 5, pp. 62–85. For a summary see Shaw (1983) 17–19.

[47] Also martyred were bishop Pothinus, the deacon Sanctus of Vienne, Alexander, a Phrygian physician, Attalos of Pergamum, Maturus, who had recently been baptised, and the fifteen year old Ponticus. See Vol. I, 1, 135; II, 1, 578; further Fishwick (1976) 77; Vermaseren (1977) 137; Shaw (1993) 17–19; Auguet (1994) 96; Kyle (1998) 248–51.

[48] Bowersock (1978). But see now *id.* (1998) 17, 75, 85.

[49] Vol. II, 1, 578–9 with refs.

[50] Oliver–Palmer (1955) 326.

[51] For posible reasons why the imperial administration would grant a special privilege to the Three Gauls see Oliver–Palmer (1955) 325–6.

What conceivably might have happened, then, is that Phrygian zealots did encourage the persecution of Christians but in the context of the clash between Christianity and the imperial cult. At issue was the worship of the emperor, which was supported by the followers of Cybele but abhorred by those of Christ, and the bone of contention was not friction between the followers of Cybele and those of Jesus but the reluctance of Christians to perform the ceremonies of the imperial religion, which conversely was promoted by the Phrygian rite of the *tauroblium*. The conclusive consideration on any reconstruction is that the final phase of the martyrdoms coincided with the August festival at Lugdunum, when the council of the Three Gauls held its annual convention. It follows that there is no reason to hold the devotees of Cybele directly responsible for the drama of A.D. 177. The martyrs of Lyon were victims of their own intransigence, not of Phrygian fanaticism.

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[52] Audin (1979) 180.

[53] Turcan, Religions "orientales" (1978) 205–6; *id.*, Cultes (1992) 66.

[54] Turcan (1972) 89–90.

[55] Turcan, Culte impérial (1978) 1057.

The details of a similar episode survive in the Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas,[56] who had been incarcerated at Carthage in all probability,[57] then thrown to the beasts in the arena of the amphitheatre. Here again the occasion of their martyrdoms, 7th March 203,[58] appears to have coincided with an imperial festival, in this case the games marking the *dies natalis* of Geta, younger son of the emperor Septimius Severus.[59] It would appear that Perpetua and her companions were charged with being Christians, perhaps as an outcome of the decrees of Septimius Severus in A.D. 202 that forbade conversion to Christianity or Judaism.[60] Along with Vibia Perpetua the victims included a female slave, Felicitas, and three men, Revocatus, Saturninus and Saturus. When the men gestured that their god would judge the governor Hilarianus as he had condemned them, the crowd demanded that they be made to run the gauntlet of the *venatores*—the same treatment as had been handed out to the male companions of Blandina at Lugdunum—so severly beaten. These *venatores*, whom we have seen to be mentioned in Augustine's account of the priesthood of Apuleius (above, pp. 320–1), were the personnel directly involved in the executions since the group of Christians had been condemned *ad bestias*.[61] A special element of public expiation, particularly applicable to the crime of sacrilege, was involved in this version of the *munus*[62] and it is significant that the local authorities first tried to have the condemned women shamefully dressed as priestesses of Ceres, the men as priests of Saturn, who is known to

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[56] For a thorough analysis, stressing the distortions made by male editors of Perpetua's own account of her experiences up to execution, see Shaw (1993) with the reservations of Bowersock (1998) 34.

[57] On the location see Shaw, *o.c.* 3, n. 3. For the earlier arrest of Perpetua and her companions at Thuburbo Minus see *id.*, *o.c* 10, n. 28, discounting the doubts of T. D. Barnes.

[58] For discussion see Shaw, *o.c.* 3, n. 2, 30.

[59] Hertz (1978) 1183–4 with n. 346, noting that both 7th and 27th March have been proposed; Vol. II, 1, 578 with n. 629 and refs.; Bowersock (1998) 48 with n. 20 and refs.

[60] Shaw, *o.c.* 10, n. 27 with refs.

[61] *Id.*, *o.c.* 5 with n. 11 and refs.

[62] *Id.*, *o.c.* 6, n. 12.

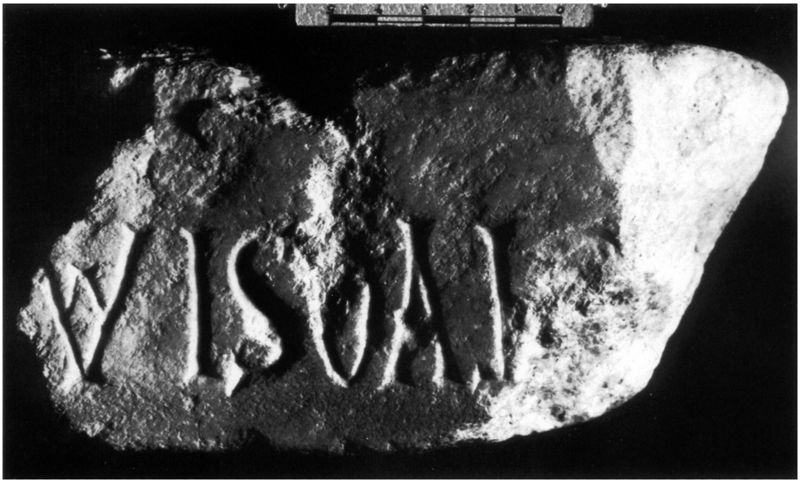

Plate 170. Inscription of the martyrs Fructuosus, Augurius and Eulogius, Tarraco.

have been offered human sacrifice;[63] in the end the protests of Perpetua persuaded the military tribune to drop this requirement. Following the scandalous entertainment of their final degradation and spectacular slaughter,[64] the bodies of Perpetua and Felicitas were interred at Carthage in the Basilica Maiorum overlooking the city from the north.[65]

A generation earlier women were included among the Scillitan martyrs from Scillium, a village near the *patria* of Perpetua, though the date when these are reported to have been tried and executed, 17th July, A.D. 180, is of no known imperial significance.[66] Later martyrdoms in Africa are also reported in the martyrological texts and hagiographic tradition, notably the executions of Cyprian, Marian and James, and Montanus and Lucius during the reign of Valerian (253–60),[67] also those of Crispina, an African woman, at Theveste in A.D. 304, and of Maxima, Donatilla and Secunda, who were thrown to the beasts at Thurburbo about the same year in the course of Diocletian's persecution; whether their martyrdoms coincided with an imperial occasion is not in evidence.[68] In contrast the martyrdom of Fabius at Caesarea *ca.* 304, was certainly linked with the imperial cult since there is a mention in this connection of *totius provinciae univerale concilium*.[69]

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[63] *Id.*, *o.c.* 5, n.8 with refs.

[64] Kyle (1998) 247.

[65] Shaw, *o.c.* 42, noting the possible discovery of the tombs of Perpetua and Felicitas.

[66] Shaw, *o.c.* 17 with n. 45.

[67] Potter (1993) 56–63.

[68] Shaw, *o.c.* 14, 37 with refs.

In Spain Bishop Fructuosus and his two deacons Augurius and Eulogius were burned alive in the amphitheatre of Tarraco on 21st January A.D. 259, possibly an imperial occasion of Valerian not otherwise attested.[70] Prudentius rejoices that God looks with kindness on the Spaniards since the mighty Trinity crowns Tarraco with three martyrs, a triple honour that lifts the city above all others of Spain:[71]

> *Hispanos Deus aspicit benignus,*
> *arcem quandoquidem potens Hiberam*
> *trino martyre Trinitas coronat.* (*Perist.* 6, 4–6)
>
> ...
>
> *O triplex honor, O triforme culmen,*
> *quo nostrae caput excitatur urbis,*
> *cunctis urbibus eminens Hiberis!* (*ibid.* 141–3)

According to the *Acta martyrum*, Aemilianius, the governor of Hispania citerior, arrested Fructuosus with his deacons five days earlier and ordered them to be put to death for refusing to follow the second edict of Valerian. The earliest evidence for a Christian community at Tarraco nevertheless begins about the end of the third century, though its origins reportedly reach back to the journeys of St. Paul.[72] That the remains of the martyrs were buried together in the fifth century within a three naved, pillared basilica beside the suburban villa of Els Munts has been inferred from a fragmentary inscription, probably originating from an altar: [*Memoria*(?) *Fru*]*ctuosi, Au.*[*gurii et Eulogii*] (*RIT* 942; Pl. 170).[73] In the amphitheatre itself, traditionally on the spot where Fructosus and his deacons were martyred, a similar basilica was constructed at the end of the sixth century; some of the buiding blocks for this were taken from the podium inscription of Elagabalus.[74] By this time, therefore, the inhabitants of Tarraco had at least two Christian cult centres, the basilica in the *suburbium*, which had been urbanized by now, and the church in the amphitheatre.[75]

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[69] Vol. II, 1, 578; Deiniger (1965) 132 with n. 11 and refs.

[70] Vol. II, 1, *ibid* with n. 630; Vol. III, I, 204, n. 14.

[71] On the largely lost sources of Prudentius see Bowersock (1998) 23ff.

[72] Panzram, *o.c.* 95.

[73] For architectural details of the basilica see Panzram, *o.c.* 98–9 with refs., noting the nearby presence on the same axis of a fifth century basilica perhaps dedicated to a *beata Thecla*, whose inscription survives. See now López Vilar (2000) 194 with fig. 8. and bibl. (p. 196). There is nothing to show that Thecla too was an early martyr.

[74] For architectural details see the overview of Panzram (2002) 111–2 with bibl.; cf. 320.

Elsewhere in Spain the martyrdoms of Faustus, Ianuarius and Martialis at Corduba in the period between the reigns of Septimius Severus and Constantius Chlorus (A.D. 193–306) are known only from an indirect reference to "three crowns" in Prudentius' hymn honouring the eighteen martyrs of Caesaraugusta:[76]

> *Afra Carthago tua promet ossa,*
> *ore facundo Cypriane doctor,*
> *Corduba Acisclum dabit et Zoellum.*
> *tresque coronas.* (*Perist.* 4, 16–20)

The precise date is unknown but their deaths at a centre of the provincial cult could suggest an imperial occasion. It has been suggested that at the end of the third century Acisclus and Zoillus, whom Prudentius also mentions, were martyred at the structure with its adjoining circus that is thought to have been a *palatium* for Maximianus Herculius (above, p. 103), alternatively the *praetorium* of the governor of Baetica or the official seat of the *vicarius Hispaniarum*.[77] This would provide an imperial context once again but beyond the text of Prudentius there is no evidence to support the inferred connection nor for that matter anything archaeological to confirm the presence of Christians at Corduba in the third century. Later evidence falls outside the boundaries of the present discussion but it is worth noting that, according to Prudentius again, the twelve year old Eulalia was tortured to death under Diocletian on the forum of Emerita (*Perist.* 3, 6–10; 4, 37–40).[78] Here too no date is recorded, only the circumstance of martyrdom at Emerita, the centre of the provincial cult of Lusitania.

Lastly, there is the case of Maricc, chief and prophet of the Boii, who had revolted against Rome and was exposed to the beasts at Lugdunum in A.D. 69 in the course of a *munus* held in the presence of Vitellius.[79]

> *Captus eo proelio Mariccus; ac mox feris obiectus, quia non laniabatur stolidum volgus inviolabilem credebat, donec spectante Vitellio interfectus est.*
> (Tac., *Hist.* 2, 61, 3)

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[75] Panzram, *o.c.* 114.

[76] *Ead.*, *o.c.* 191.

[77] *Ead.*, *o.c.* 206 with refs.

[78] *Ead.*, *o.c.* 288, 299–8, 306–8.

[79] Vol. II, 1, 579; Ville (1981) 213, n. 86, 231 with n. 11.

These games, which are recorded by Dio (65, $2^a$-3), were very possibly given by the priest of Tres Galliae for that year, precisely as T. Sennius Sollemnis was to exhibit spectacles a century and a half or so later (above, pp. 307–15); at all events Vitellius himself is not explicitly recorded as *editor muneris*. The significance of the incident is that it shows how victims other than Christians could be used to enliven the shows that were put on in honour of the emperor and counted as a standard liturgy of imperial priests.

As the darkest side of the depraved entertainment provided by *munera*, the phenomenon of martyrdom has long been the focus of detailed analysis. Martyrdom is clearly of direct relevance to the present topic since Christians were punished for refusing to worship the gods of Rome, one aspect of which was the rituals of the ruler cult.[80] By declining to sacrifice to the emperor, the regular test of whether one was a follower of Jesus, Christians violated the law and hence were liable to the penalty of death.[81] Why martyrdoms should be associated with the games exhibited by provincial priests on high festivals of the *domus imperatoria* is equally self-evident. It should be observed in the first place that the association of sadistic entertainment with imperial celebrations was nothing new. Jews in particular had been the victims of similar treatment in the theatre at Alexandria *ca.* A.D. 39, where Philo protests that the Roman governor Flaccus had marked the official birthdays and festivals of August by horrific tortures and executions followed by dancing, mimes, flute-playing, and other interludes of scenic games.[82] Such occasions provided an appropriate setting for the punishment of Christians since imperial anniversaries celebrated the emperor whom they had dishonoured by refusing to pay him cult.[83] At Emerita, for example, the twelve year old Eulalia, who died in the persecution of Diocletian, not only refused to offer sacrifice but described the pagan gods and Maximianus Herculius himself as *nihil*.[84]

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[80] Vol. II, 1, 577 with n. 628; Potter (1993) 58–9.

[81] Bowersock (1998) 25, 54.

[82] Ville (1981) 427; Bowersock (1998) 48–9.

[83] The circumstance that both Polycarp and Pionius were martyred on the Great Sabbath nevertheless shows that such events were by no means restricted to imperial aniversaries. Public holidays, when people were free to watch, fitted the bill equally well. See Bowersock, *ibid.* with Appendix 3, 82–4.

[84] Panzram (2002) 288 with refs.

The purpose of the Roman authorities in all this was to re-affirm and re-assert the order and structure of the ruling power.[85] This was achieved by exemplary punishments,[86] by humiliating and executing Christians like condemned miscreants in the very arena where great gladiators or athletes could win fame and fortune. The irony is particularly sharp in the case of Maturus, one of the martyrs at Lugdunum, who was himself an athlete.[87] The person sentenced to be thrown to the beasts or crucified lost his human identity; in effect he or she was reduced to the level of an animal or stage prop, a mere object.[88] As D. Potter has shown, an important aspect of martyrdom was consequently its role as spectacle.[89] Early martyrdoms occurred in the great urban centres[90]—in the west at Lugdunum, Carthage or Tarraco—where in an attempt to set an example Roman magistrates provided public entertainment in which martyrs were often enough the principal players. The emotional impact of the event can hardly be overstated.[91] Onlookers expected a standard diet of entertainment: wild beast hunts in the morning, executions at midday, gladiatorial combats in the later afternoon. The spectators watched for the contrition and terror of the condemned and, if this was not forthcoming, could demand additional torments.[92] As a general rule, victims who had been mauled by animals were killed off outside the arena; if animals were not involved, execution took place in public view. It follows that martyrdoms were the centrepiece of "games" whether through the confrontation of unarmed victims with wild beasts, now the hunters rather than the hunted, or the sight of their immolation or death in some equally theatrical fashion. Such spectacles were nevertheless nothing new. Martyrdoms illustrated an ideology that fully supported the practice of public torture and execution. In reflecting the customs and structures of the Roman empire, its traditions and cultural tastes, they fitted a pre-existing social order.[93] Death in the arena was consequently a political as well as a judicial event, an occasion that united non-Christian citizens in venting their hostility as notably at Lugdunum (above, pp. 327–9).[94]

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[85] Shaw (1993) 6, defining the *munus* as a ritual of empowerment; cf. 10, noting that the levels and types of violence vented on the bodies of prisoners, notably the debasement of women by denuding and netting, were all part of a planned public celebration of imperial power.

[86] Shaw, *o.c.* 4, stressing that the entertainment in the arena was simultaneously an instrument of public terror.

[87] Bowersock (1998) 50, noting that the sources constantly compare dying martyrs to athletes.

[88] Potter (1993) 65.

[89] *Id.* (1993) throughout, especially 65–71; cf. Bowersock (1998) 50; Panzram (2002) 113.

[90] Bowersock (1998) 43.

[91] See in general Foucault (1977) 32–69.

[92] Potter (1993) 53 with nn. 2–5 and bibl., 66. For an overview of the procedure see Bowersock (1998) 51–2, noting the convincing point of L. Robert that the vision of Perpetua reflects the standard presentation of *munera* at Carthage.

The degradation of Christian victims could nevertheless create problems. The mood of the crowd could shift from cruelty to compassion.[95] The *Acts of the Christian Martyrs* record, for example, how the horrified reaction of spectators led the authorities to clothe the naked bodies of the fellow martyrs of Perpetua.[96] Public humiliation and execution could glorify the victims in the eyes of the beholder, the very opposite result to what the state intended.[97] Such difficulties intensified if condemned Christians were members of the local *ordo* or higher classes.[98] Whether this was true of Bishop Fructuosus and his two deacons is unclear but the Passion of the three martyrs reports that the whole people, non-Christians well as Christian, suffered with the victims since they were loved by all.[99] As a result, public spectacles came to be seen by the Roman authorities as events that could disturb as well as reinforce the social order.[100] If the crowd demanded that the authorities change their behaviour, this exposed the central government to embarrassment, thereby threatening and undermining imperial control. For this reason a governor chose sometimes to avoid the notoriety of public execution; rather than give martyrs a platform for self-display he had them executed off-stage, away from the arena.[101] In North Africa in particular the imperial authorities, aware of the inflamatory potential of public punishment, became unwilling to throw Christians to the beasts or enforce the prostitution of condemned women.[102]

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[93] Potter (1993) 53, 63ff.; Bowersock (1998) 28, 50.

[94] Bowersock (1998) 42.

[95] Bowersock, *o.c.* 49–50.

[96] Shaw (1993) 8–9; Bowersock (1998) 36.

[97] Shaw (1993) 6, citing Barton (1989) 15.

[98] Potter (1963) 54, noting the reaction of members of the Boule of Smyrna to the treatment of Pionius; cf. *o.c.* 69–70.

[99] Panzram (2002) 82 with nn. 317–9 and refs. For analysis of the account in the *passio* with particular emphasis on its topical passages see *ead.*, *o.c.* 112–3 with refs.

[100] Potter (1993) 54.

[101] *Id.*, o.c. 60–3.

[102] *Id.*, o.c. 59–63.

The reverse side of this sombre picture was the deliberate pursuit of execution by prospective martyrs, for whom death in the arena of a great city was a guarantee of visibility, so a venue eagerly sought.[103] To the wonderment of pagans, many invited martyrdom by their own suicidal actions in desecrating the statues of the gods, openly offering themselves to a passing governor for execution, or preaching in a synogogue.[104] The *Acta martyrum* tell frequently of those who actively courted their own deaths, embracing martyrdom with joy, smiles, laughter and jokes.[105] Perpetua and her companions, for example, were in high spirits on being condemned (*Mart. Perpet.* 6, 6); Perpetua herself went to her death in good cheer (*o.c.* 18, 1–2); and the crowd that accompanied Cyprian to his beheading cried out to be executed with him (*Acta Cypr.* 5. 1). Tertullian himself represented this rush to martyrdom as a danger to the Roman state (*ad Scap.* 5), while Cyprian and others attempted to dissuade those who volunteered for death in the Christian cause.[106] Yet Tertullian's own attitude to martyrdom is consistent with the Roman ideal of noble suicide[107] and Cyprian was enthusiastic about the potential efficacy of his own martyrdom at Carthage. In the end Christian theologians, notably Clement of Alexandria and Origen, drew a distinction between real martyrs, who suffered for refusing to worship the gods of Rome, and voluntary martyrs, who by bringing death on their own heads gained an authority that could threaten that of the bishops.[108] Those who incited persecution were condemned as guilty and in the first book of his *City of God* Augustine argues forcefully against the practice.[109] With this injunction the ideal of suicidal martyrdom was definitively repudiated.

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[103] *Id.*, o.c. 54–6 on "overachievers"; Bowersock (1998) 1–4, 6.

[104] *Id.*, o.c. 58.

[105] Bowersock (1998) 59ff.

[106] Potter (1993) 56; Bowersock (1998) 2, 6.

[107] Potter (1993) 55. For the point that the pagan world was not united in admiration of suicide see Bowersock (1998) 64–5.

[108] Shaw, *o.c.* 6–7, noting that those who were martyred came to assume special powers and were granted the title of *Dominus* or *Domina*; Potter (1993) 54–6; Bowersock (1998) 4, 43.

[109] Bowersock (1998) 73–4.

Plate 171. Model of Circus Maximus, Rome.

## ii. ludi circenses

Whereas at Rome the birthday of Augustus was already marked by circus races from 13 B.C.,[110] evidence for their association with the provincial cult of the emperor in the western empire is largely limited to the physical remains of tracks and associated structures as revealed by archaeological exploration. As we have seen (above, pp. 315, 317), the inscription of L. Iunius Paulinus at Corduba is unique in referring not only to the gladiatorial games with preliminary bouts by which he celebrated his provincial priesthood but also to *ludi circenses* marking the erection and dedication of the statues he had promised *ob honores coniunctos*—at a cost of no less than HS 400,000:[111]

> .... *edito ob honorem flaminatus munere gladiatorio et duabus lusionib(us) | statuas quas ob honores coniunctos promiserat ex ⊂sestertium⊃* $\overline{\textit{CCCC}}$ *posuit et factis circiens(ibus) ded(icavit).* *CIL* $2^2$ /7, 221, Pl. 66

This seems to be the only epigraphical reference in the entire Latin

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[110] Vol. II, 1, 576. On the orgins of circus games as an infernal or agrarian rite see the overview of Auguet (1994) 120–3. For the development of chariot racing see in general Humphrey (1986) 4–24.

[111] For examples of circus games given by municipal priests see Vol. II, 1, 582 with n. 656; add *CIL* 13, 1921 =*ILS* 7024.

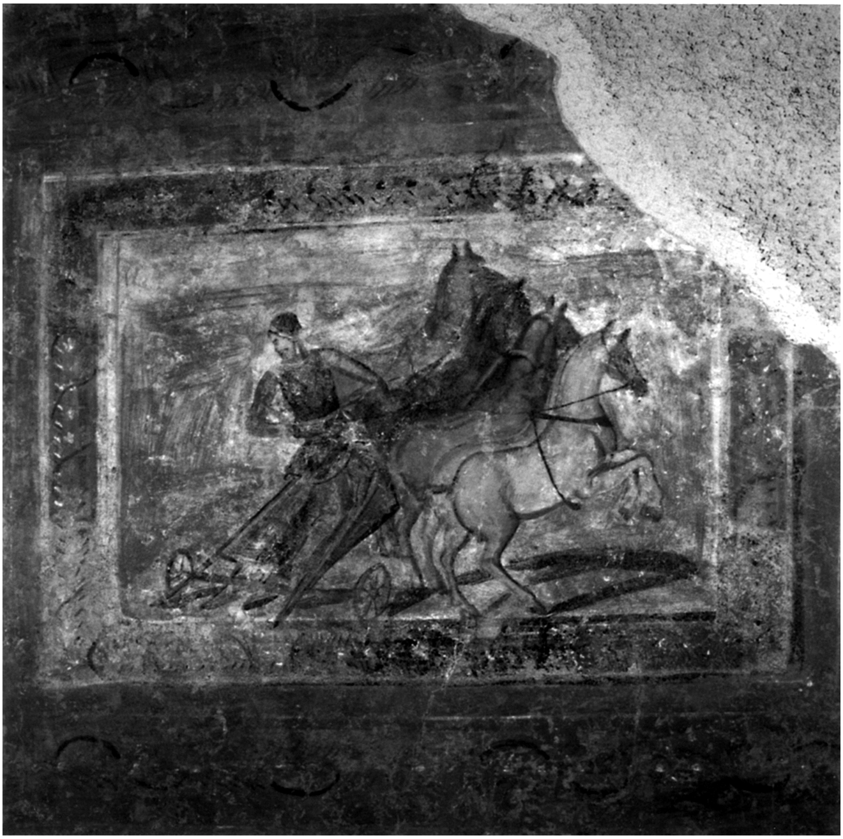

Plate 172. Wall painting of charioteer in competition, Emerita.

west to confirm the holding of circus races by a provincial priest—that is, unless circus games are included under the *omne genus spectaculorum* exhibited by T. Sennius Sollemnis at Lugdunum—but a link between the circus and the provincial cult of Hispania citerior is firmly established at Tarraco by the Flavian circus that occupies the bottom level of the provincial sanctuary (above, p. 35–7).[112] At Rome an elaborate *pompa* at Rome heralded the staging of chariot races at the Circus Maximus at Rome (Pl. 171)[113] and it seems likely enough that on the occasion of imperial festivals in Hither Spain processions will have similarly wound their way from the temple on the uppermost terrace of the Tarraco

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[112] Vol. II, 1, 581–2 with Pls. CVII–CVIII.

[113] Auguet (1994) 126–8.

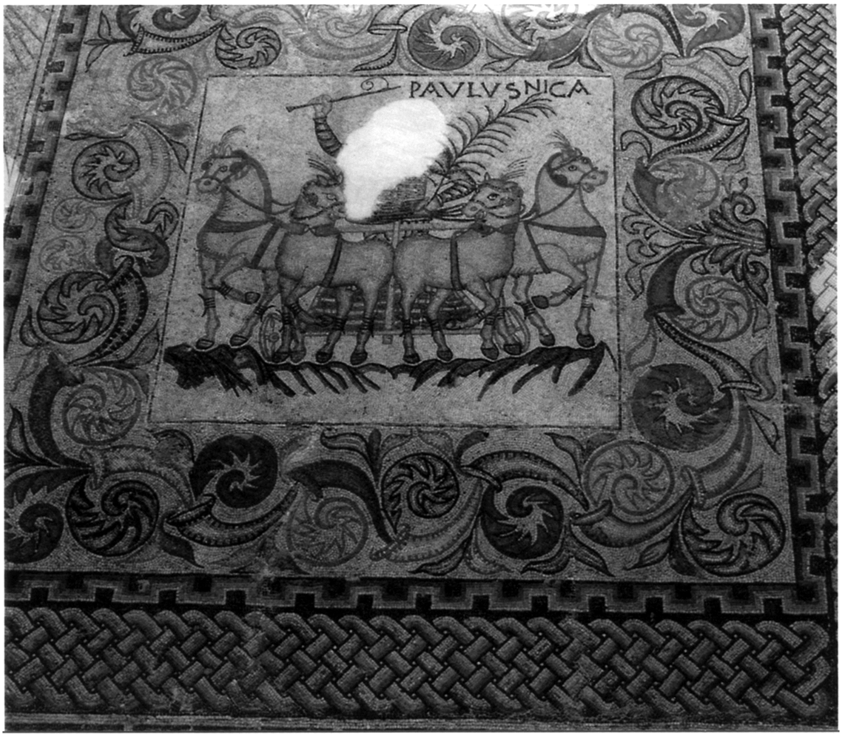

Plate 173. Mosaic illustrating the victorious charioteer Paulus, Emerita.

enclave down to the circus below (above, p. 272 with Pl. 147). The view has been argued that at Corduba the Orive circus is similarly linked to a provincial enclosure, the nucleus of which was the temple in Calle Claudio Marcelo, but we have noted sound reasons for rejecting this comparison (above, pp. 96–7, 103).

Similar courses are archaeologically attested near other provincial centres though nowhere is a hippodrome architecturally incorporated as on the plan at Tarraco,[114] which itself follows the scheme of the sanctuary at Ancyra (above, pp. 3–4). At Emerita the circus lay across the river from the amphitheatre and theatre (Vol. II, 1, Pl. CXb; above, p. 69, Pl. 89),[115] while at Corduba the track now identified at Orive was easily reached by direct access from the *temenos* of the temple in calle

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[114] For the fumerary inscription of the twenty-two years old slave *auriga* Eutyches at Tarraco see *RIT* 444.

[115] For the surviving evidence see Nogales Basarrate, Espectáculos (2000) 73–8.

MARCIANVSNICHA
INVMAI
NATOR

Plate 174. Mosaic showing the victorious charioteer Marciannus, Emerita.

Claudio Marcelo (above, pp. 103, cf. 90–8), so lay relatively close to the interior forums of the city, where the provincial council set up honorific statues. As noted above (*ibid.* with Pl. 93), a later circus on the west side of Corduba ran beside the supposed palace attributable perhaps to Maximianus. Again at Carthage the race course on the south-east boundary of the city will have been within easy reach whether the provincial council made its headquarters on the crest of the Byrsa hill or by the perimeter of the city (above, p. 179 with Pl. 127). Elsewhere in the west there seems to be no trace of a circus at Camulodunum and the location of the facility at Narbo, references to which have survived in iconographic form, is unknown (above, p. 130). At Lugdunum in contrast the circus is thought to have stood on the opposite side of the city from the federal sanctuary at Croix Rousse (Vol. II, 1, Pl. CIX). In this instance we have the record preserved in the superb Ainay mosaic (Pl. 156) showing that the axial wall of the central *spina*, around which chariots careened, was here replaced by ponds with gushing water, a

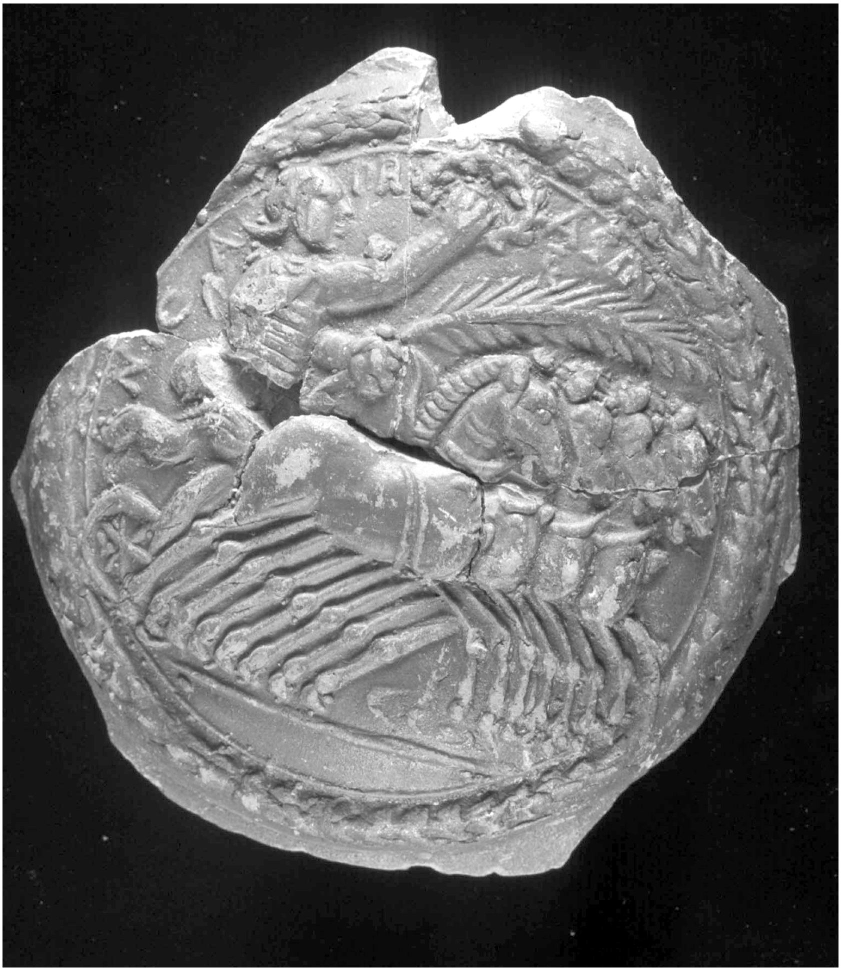

Plate 175. *Quadriga.* Four-horse chariot, Lyon.

feature that supports a possible location in the vale of Trion (above, p. 127) with its aqueduct of the river Gier.[116] The decorative dolphins and the egg-shaped spheres, the removal of which marked the completion of each revolution of a race, are clearly illustrated, as are the triple corner posts (*metae*) that created dangerous hairpin bends at either end of the

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[116] The circus would then have stood outside the city walls in the region of the necropolis, a location that supports a link between circus games and the cult of the dead, perhaps also an association with the dragging of Hector round the walls of Troy. For discussion of the Ainay mosaic see Dunbabin (1978) 90; Humphrey (1986) 216–8.

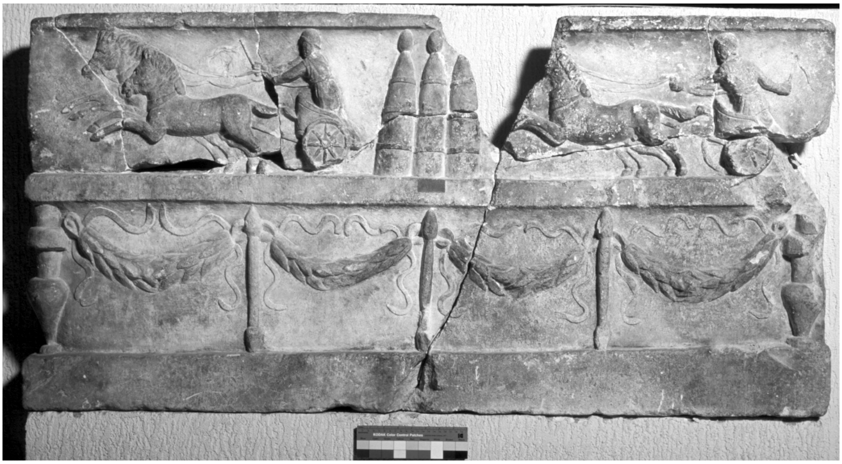

Plate 176. Chariot race, Lyon.

*spina*.[117] Despite the lack of direct evidence at these latter centres, then, there seems every reason to believe that, just as at Tarraco, imperial festivals will have indulged the common passion for chariot races. On the other hand, while the Ainay mosaic, for instance, shows that the eight quadrigas, two for each faction, belong to the whites, the blues, the reds and the greens (particularly popular at Lugdunum to judge from medallions appliqué), there seems to be no trace of any political influence that their supporting cliques might have brought to bear, say, on provincial councils.

### iii. ludi scaenici

By the time of the calendar of Philocalus (above, p. 305) scenic games occupied well over half of the hundred and seventy five days of the year set aside at Rome for public entertainment.[118] The link between *ludi scaenici* and the ruler cult has been emphasized earlier, particularly their place in municipal cult.[119] In the Greek east this is amply documented at centres such as Gytheum,[120] while in the west widely

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[117] For procedure and technique at chariot races including *naufragia* of competing chariots and their drivers see the useful account of Auguet (1994) 128–33.

[118] On the scope and historical background of *ludi scaenici*—theatrical productions, competitions in oratory, poetry, and music—see Clavel-Lévêque (1984) 45–63.

[119] Vol. II, 1, 583.

[120] Price (1984) 109, 188, 210–11. For further discussion see above, pp. 268–9, 273.

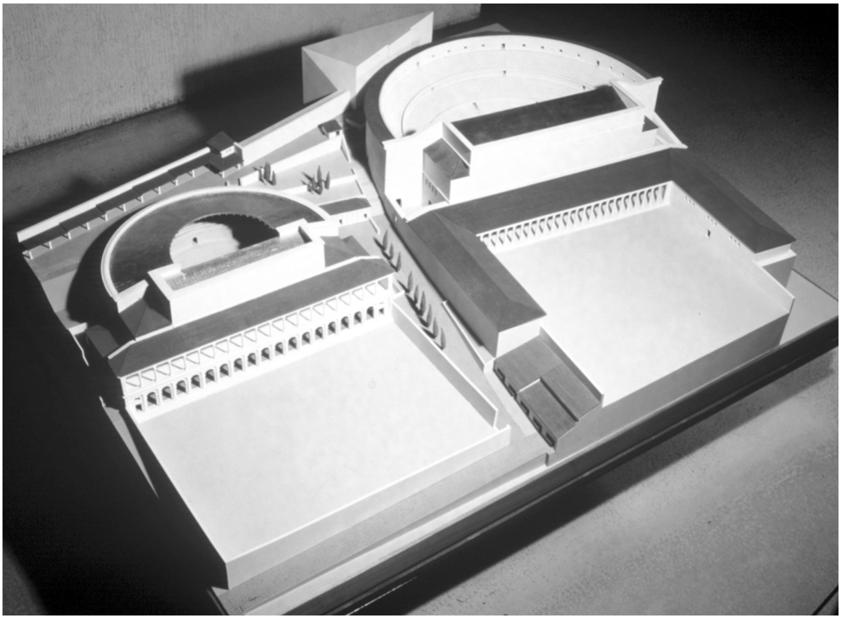

Plate 177. Model of theatre of Augustus, Lugdunum.

scattered inscriptions record that municipal priests and priestesses often gave scenic games, notably in the Gauls, the Spains, and the provinces of North Africa.[121] To this documentary evidence can be added the physical traces of theatres found across every western province.

The place of *ludi scaenici* at the provincial level of ruler cult in the Latin west remains nevertheless obscure. Unless one can suppose that the spectacles put on at Lugdunum by T. Sennius Sollemnis (above, p. 314) included theatrical performances—in which case these would have been produced in the theatre rebuilt by Hadrian at Fourvière (Pl. 177–8)—the nearest testimony is entirely circumstantial, the fact that at Camulodunum the theatre adjoined the provincial centre (above, p. 147), just as the amphitheatre at Lugdunum lay beside the federal sanctuary centred on the altar and temple of the Three Gauls. The contiguity certainly suggests that in Britannia at least the theatre was earmarked for provincial purposes just as the inclusion of a circus within the provincial enclave at Tarraco implies the running of chariot races on imperial occasions celebrated by the province. A link between the

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[121] Vol. II, 1, 583–4 with numerous refs.; cf. above, p. 103, n. 71 with refs.

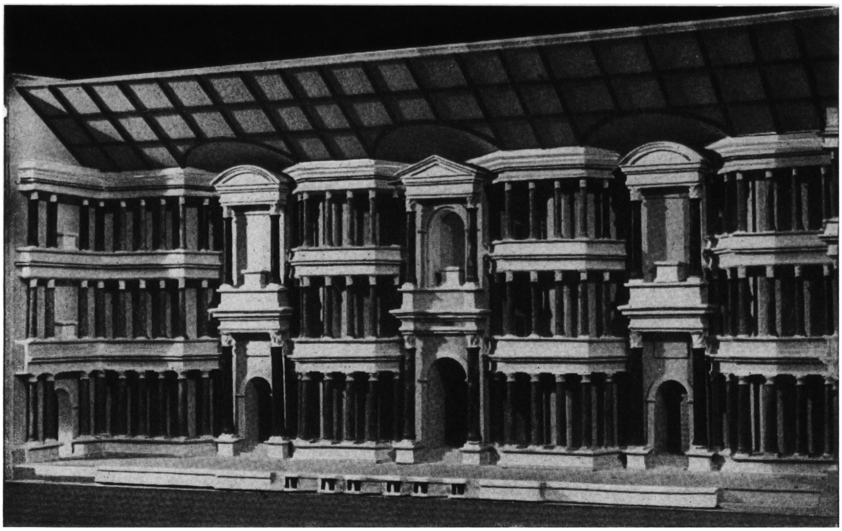

Plate 178. Model of stage of Hadrian's theatre, Lugdunum.

province and the theatre looks also to be documented at Emerita,[122] where a fragmentary epigraphic text relating to the *sacrarium* located on the *ima cavea* (*AE*, 1990, 515) alludes in some way to the province of Lusitania (above, p. 69 with Pl. 92). Evidence is nevertheless insufficient to show whether similar rites to those at Gytheum, including the transportation of imperial images in procession (above, p. 273), marked scenic games staged by the province. A similar *sacrarium* may have existed at the theatre of Corduba, though here there is no surviving inscription to document an association with the province of Baetica (above, p. 103). The sole literary passages that might be pressed into service are references in Suetonius (*Gaius* 20) and Juvenal (*Sat.* 1, 42–4) to the oratorical competition held by Gaius at Lugdunum in the winter of A.D. 39/40. Plainly an attempt to find speakers capable of eulogizing the emperor on imperial occasions celebrated at the sanctuary of the Three Gauls (above, pp. 283–5), the *certamen* certainly falls within the definition of *ludi scaenici*. As the Odeon of the colony at Fourvière, which was specially designed for declamation, literary readings and music, was not built until about the middle of the second century,[123] the audi-

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[122] For an overview of the evidence for the theatre at Emerita see Nogales Basarrate, Espectáculos (2000) 56–60, 86–7.

[123] Vol. II, 1, CXI–II. For a brief overview of the Odeon see Burdy (1984) 30–1; Audin

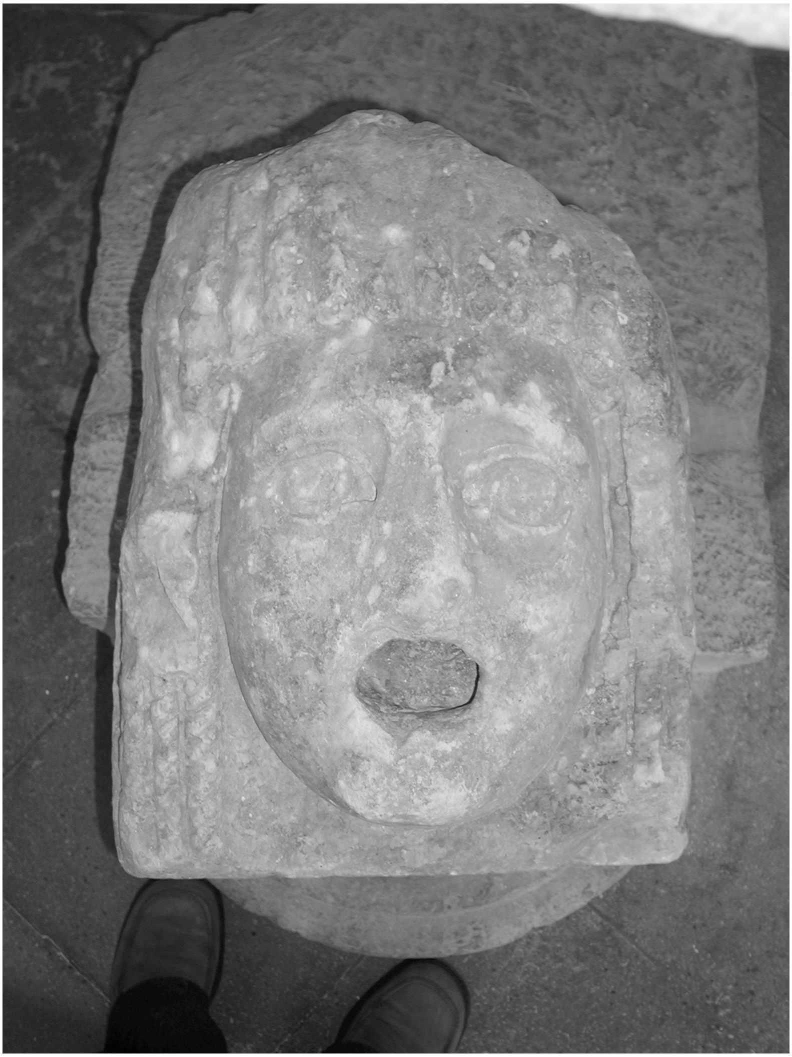

Plate 179. Theatrical tragic mask, Corduba.

tions were in this case held before the altar at the federal sanctuary, as confirmed by Juvenal. Otherwise there seems to be no epigraphical evidence documenting that a provincial priest staged scenic games.[124]

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(1981) 44–5.

[124] *Contra* Panzram (2002) 192, 206, 317, taking the two *lusiones* put on by L. Iunius Paulinus (*CIL* $2^2$ /7, 221, Pl. 66) to be scenic games.

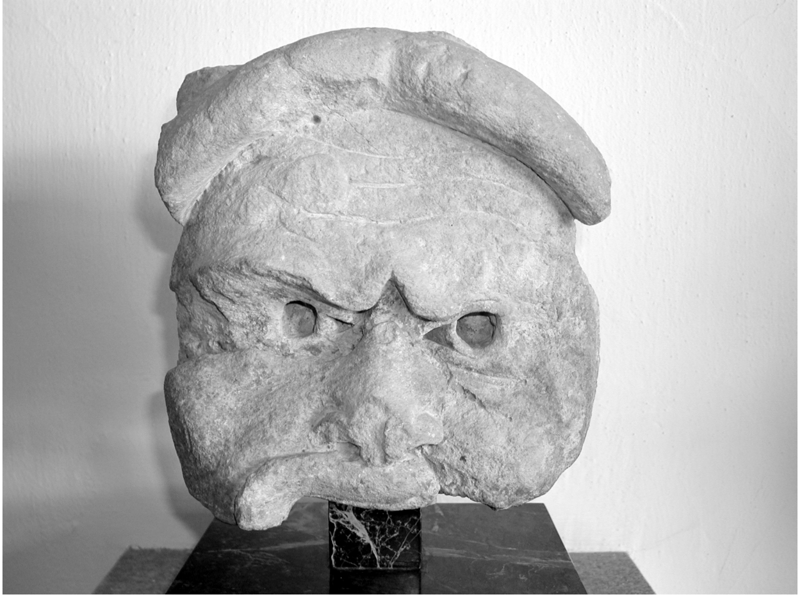

Plate 180. Theatrical mask of slave, Corduba.

These cases apart, we are left with the bare implications of topography and location, the fact that at Emerita, for instance, the elaborate theatre (Pls. 89–90) lies beside the amphitheatre just a few minutes walk from the putative provincial centre of Lusitania. As the amphitheatre will certainly have been the scene of *munera* on high festival days, it is difficult to think that the theatre too was not put into service on similar occasions. At Corduba, Tarraco[125] and Lugdunum (Pls. 105, 146, Vol. II, 1, Pls. CXI–II), in contrast, perhaps also at Narbo, the site of the theatre points rather to a civic role, not that this rules out its occasional use by the province. Certainly the theatre lay in every case within walking distance of the provincial enclosure, precisely as at Emerita. The most spectacular entertainment, of course, will have been centred on the amphitheatre and circus and there can be no doubt that it was to these facilities that the crowd flocked in order to celebrate the principal imperial anniversaries. Even so, it looks by no means impossible that scenic games could have marked the lesser festivals of the provincial calendar.[126]

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[125] For a *mimographus* at Tarraco, for example, see *RIT* 53.

[126] For *ludi scaenici* at Corduba, Emerita and Lugdunum see Pls. 179–84.

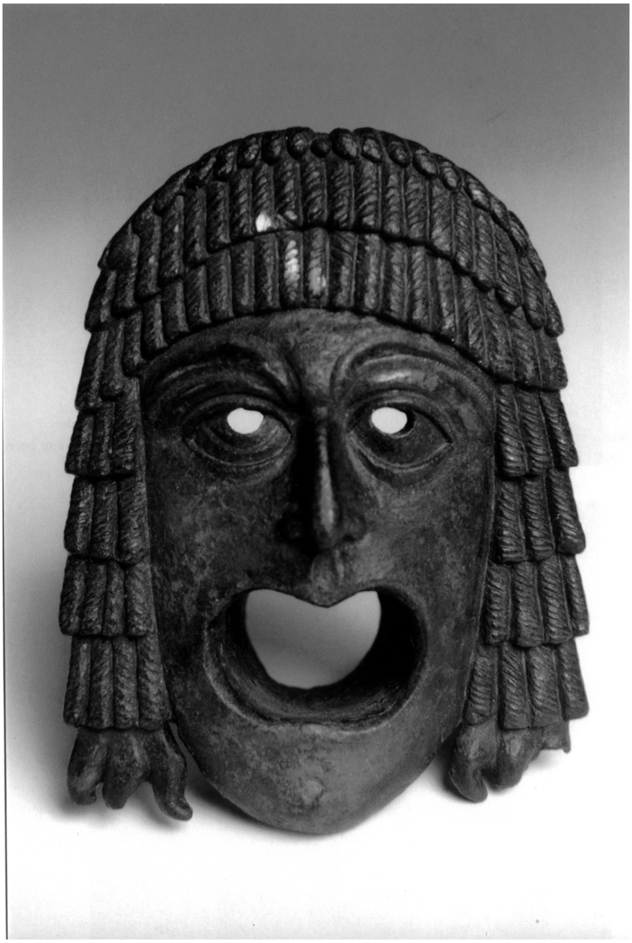


Plate 181. Bronze mask, Emerita.

Contrary to what has sometimes been argued, then, there can be no question of the link between games and the imperial religion, nor of the fact that mass entertainment in one form or another was a liturgy of the provincial high priest. Clearly it was to the advantage of Rome that imperial celebrations should not only be solemnized by religious rites but also be occasions of enjoyment and festivities. High policy demanded that *ludi* in one form or another should serve as an adjunct of provincial ruler cult just as they were of municipal. Games are in consequence an integral component within the over-all spectrum of provincial ruler cult.

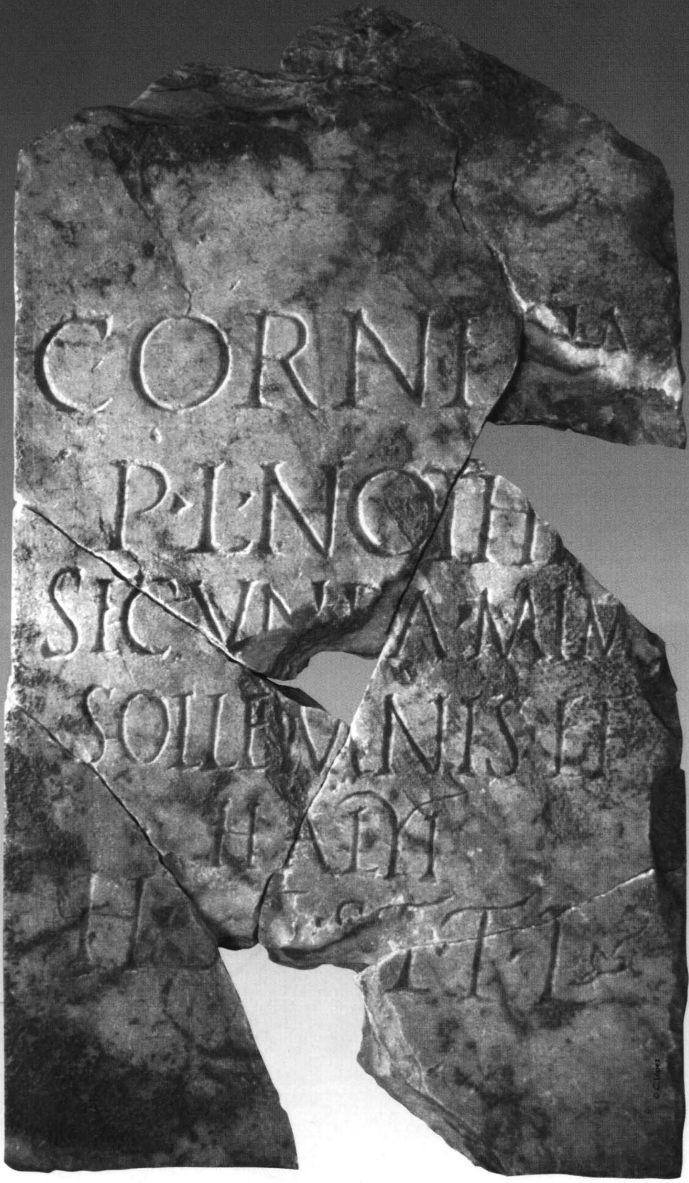
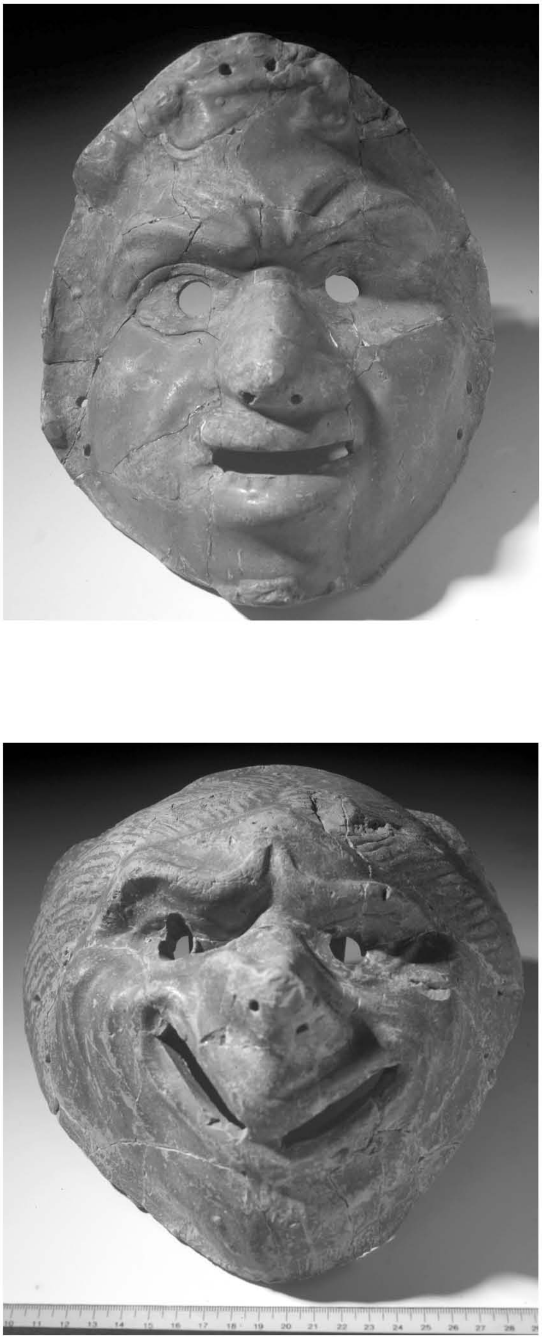

CORNELIA
P·L·NOTH
SOLLEMNIS

Plate 182. Inscription of the *mima* Cornelia Nothis., Emerita.


10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28

Plates 183–4. Theatrical masks. Lugdunum.

## CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

# PROVINCIAL CULT

Any attempt to reconstruct the content and character of provincial cult in the western empire faces the fundamental difficulty that direct evidence is for the most part non-existent. No account of the rites conducted at provincial centres has come down in the literary sources, which are essentially restricted to notices of the trappings and apparel of provincial priests or of the competitions and games that accompanied imperial festivals. Inscriptions likewise mention the regalia of provincial *sacerdotes*, *flamines* and *flaminicae* or the bare fact of sacrifice on regular occasions but preserve no calendar of the anniversaries to be marked at provincial level on the lines, say, of the *feriale* prescribed for military use at Dura and inferentially throughout the empire. Coins and archaeological vestiges abundantly confirm the existence of altars or temples and can even portray the projected form of the provincial cult idol as in Hither Spain, while the topography and physical lay-out of provincial centres sometimes permit inferences on the possibility of processions with the transportation of imperial images, traces of which survive in one form or another. Similarly, though bas-reliefs again depict mostly the accoutrements and cultic implements of imperial priests, iconographic reminiscences of provincial ritual occasionally occur, meagre as they yet are. The result of this fragmentary record is that one has to work largely in the dark in a frustrating attempt to piece together what is at at best a partial picture, fitfully illuminated by paltry, frequently defective, tangible remains.

Aside from the accident of survival, the reason for this dearth of evidence is doubtless the circumstance that what was normal and customary was not thought deserving of record, whereas an unusual occurrence such as the performance of a *taurobolium* at Narbo seemed something worth reporting to posterity. Yet despite the poverty of our sources cautious inference from comparative evidence elsewhere, particularly the practice of eastern provinces, can provide a working outline of the principal characteristics of provincial cult in the Latin west, tentative and provisional though this must be. It will be appropriate, therefore, to conclude the present analysis by sketching a general picture of what we know or can at least be inferred of the rites performed by provincial priests in the Latin west, together with the kind of occasion to which these were appropriate. But first; a word on the *pro salute* formula.

## i. pro salute Imperatoris

Throughout the Latin west the gods were frequently invoked on the emperor's behalf. Countless dedications, ex votos, statues, altars and monuments are preserved in the African provinces, the Spains, the Gauls, Britain,[1] the Germanies and the Danube region, all addressed to a wide range of deities *pro salute imperatoris*, a petition regularly followed by the name of the dedicator. The formula is attested from the early principate down to the late second and third centuries, particularly under the Severi, when like most categories of epigraphical texts it proliferates.[2] Typical examples, of particular interest for present purposes, are dedications for the emperor's *salus* set up by provincial priests. Thus at Sarmizegetusa M. Antonius Valentinus, *sacerdos coronatus* of Tres Daciae, erected a marble altar for the *salus* of Gordian to Mars Augustus. As Mars has here been transformed into an Augustan god—that is, a deity who extends his or her protection to the Augustus[3]—the intention of the dedication is doubly articulated (*IDR* 3/2, 266, Pl. 151: A.D. 238–44; above, p. 291).[4] With this monument may be compared a defaced tablet, likewise at Sarmizegetusa, that the provincial council addressed to some god for the *salus* of Severus Alexander (*IDR* 3/2, 79, Pl. 153: before A.D. 235; above, p. 294).[5] Again, near Siscia in Upper Pannonia G. D[...] Q. Victorinus made a dedication to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Nundinarius on behalf of the *salus* of Gordian:[6]

> *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) nundinario pro salute imp(eratoris) Gordiani Aug(usti) G(aius) D*[...] *Q(uirina) Victorinus dec(urio) col(oniae) Sisc(iae), II vira(lis), eq(ues) Rom(anus), sac(erdos) p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) sup(erioris) et G(aius) D*[...] *Victorinianus fil(ius) dec(urio) col(oniae) Sisc(iae), eq(ues) R(omanus) et L*[*uc*]*ilia coniunx sacerdot(alis) Pio et Proculo co(n)s(ilibus).* *CIL* 3, 10820: A.D. 238

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[1] For the *pro salute* formula in Britain see Fishwick (1961) 221 with n. 53.

[2] Vol. I, 2, 317, n. 6 with refs.; cf. Taeger (1957) 236; Turcan (1978) 1057–8; Smadja (1985) 543–5.

[3] Vol. II, 1, 446–54.

[4] Vol. III. 2, 256, 265.

[5] Vol. III, 2, 256, 264.

[6] Vol. III, 2, 267 (Nundinarius is misprinted), 274.

It should be noted at the outset that the expression *pro salute* can have both a particular and a general implication. The earliest record of the *domus divina*, reading *pro perpetua salute divinae domus* (*CIL* 13, 4635: Nasium, Belgica), looks to have been inspired by the fall of Sejanus.[7] Similarly, when used predominantly though not exclusively by soldiers, as in the eastern region of Germania superior with its legionary camp and administrative seat at Mainz, it seems most often to have a specific reference, notably to conspiracies.[8] In instances such as these the formula is to be taken literally, as a sign that in order to survive the emperor needed the loyalty of his subjects and the help of the gods, even of indigenous gods.[9] Typical examples of the concrete usage are *pro salute et victoria et reditu imperatorum* …, perhaps a reference to the British campaign of Septimius Severus and his sons, or *pro salute et victoria{e} Aug(usti)* … .[10] A special allusion can similarly be seen in dedications on behalf of the *salus* and *incolumitas* of the emperor and of the whole *domus divina*.[11] These examples make it clear that particular events—conspiracies or military campaigns, attacks from within or dangers from without—have occasioned a dedication *pro salute*, in which case the actual presence of the emperor can have been a factor.[12] But beyond such specific applications it is self-evident that the formula refers often enough to the emperor's *salus* in general rather than particular terms. What is striking in this connection is that the piety of the dedicator can be thought to redound to the benefit of the emperor and his house. It can hardly be coincidental that dedications of this form occur most frequently at times when the emperor is officially styled Pius Felix. His *pietas*, based on the piety of his subjects as attested in their dedications to the gods *pro salute imperatoris*, is judged to sustain the fabric of the Roman world.[13]

In the second and third centuries sacrifice to the gods on the emperor's behalf constituted a significant act of Roman religion, as much in the eyes of Christians as of the representatives of the imperial power.[14]

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[7] Vol. II, 1, 423.

[8] Liertz (1998) 158–62 at 159.

[9] Liertz, *ibid.*; Turcan (1978) 1059, observes that dedications *pro salute* most frequently, if not always, concern the physical well-being of the emperor.

[10] Liertz, *o.c.* 160 with nn. 74 and 77, citing *CIL* 13, 7417, 3487.

[11] Vol. II, 1, 428 with examples; Liertz, *ibid.*

[12] Liertz, *o.c.* 161.

[13] Turcan, Culte impérial (1978) 1059.

[14] So Smadja (1985) 541 with n. 1, citing Tertullian, *Apolog.* 24, 1.

Recognition of the imperial power by provincials had a religious foundation: one proved one's loyalty to the emperor under a religious form, by an act of *pietas*. Tertullian, who wrote his *Apologeticus* at the time when the *pro salute* formula was most in fashion (A.D. 197), makes it clear that to be religious is not only to pay regular cult to the immortal gods but also to call on them on behalf of the emperor's behalf.[15] Failure to do this, Tertullian says, is a principal charge against the Christians, who neither honour the gods nor sacrifice on behalf of the emperor. As a result, they are persecuted for sacrilege and for affronting the dignity of the ruler:

> *Deos, inquitis, non colitis, et pro imperatoribus sacrificia non penditis. Sequitur ut eadem ratione pro aliis non sacrificemus, qua nec pro nobis ipsis, semel deos non colendo. Itaque sacrilegii et maiestatis rei convenimur* (*o.c.* 10, 1; cf. 24, 1, 4).

Yet Turcan notes that at Intercisa a Jew, in his capacity of *spondilla* at a local synagogue, dedicated to the Eternal God an altar for the *salus* of Alexander Severus,[16] from which it follows that Christians too could have offered the emperor this form of homage on their own terms—without compromise to their belief. That they did in fact do so is claimed by the martyr Achatius, who assured the legate of Pisidia in A.D. 250 that he did not neglect to pray to the living and sovereign God on behalf of the emperor's *salus*,[17] but as a Christian could not be obliged to offer sacrifice. In other words he could call on Christ on behalf of the emperor's *salus* but could not fulfill Pliny's requirement that Christians supplicate the emperor's image: that is, perform a rite appropriate to a pagan god before the emperor's *imago (Epp. ad Trai.* 10, 96, 5–6; above, p. 280–1).

Dedications *pro salute imperatoris* are not only very common but are attested with an extremely wide range of deities. In the first place the formula is particularly prevalent with oriental deities, notably the Phrygian Magna Mater.[18] As we have seen, taurobolic altars consecrated for the *salus* of the emperor become common under the Antonines and the Severi—the very idea of the *taurobolium pro salute* may have been inspired by the illness of Antoninus Pius, who died in A.D. 161 (above, p. 260). The emperor's *salus* can also be associated with the cults of Isis, Serapis, Caelestis, Jupiter Dolichenus, Mithras, even the local godlings of the north-west provinces.[19] Even so, the god most frequently invoked is Iuppiter Optimus Maximus. A similar picture is observable in Roman Africa, where the emperor is integrated by the *pro salute* formula within the cults of the great majority of deities venerated in the denser centres of urbanization.[20] As elsewhere, texts occur here on elements of statues, temples, monuments and altars, which have been inscribed by the representatives of civic, religious, and military corporations as well as of the central government or by private individuals. E. Smadja, who has collected the evidence, notes that the extension and density of these inscriptions is linked to the expansion of the Roman empire and that most belong to the second and above all the first half of the third century, when piety towards the gods in general and the emperor in particular was at its highest—or at least is most frequently recorded.[21] Such dedications, short and stereotyped as they are, commemorate occasions of largesse or the collective festivals of daily life that were marked by important imperial dates as illustrated by the calendar of Theveste in particular.[22]

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[15] Van Andringa (2000) 33 with n. 15 and refs., to which add *Passio Sanctorum Scillitanorum* 3, recording the statement of the Roman proconsul Saturninus that non-Christians too are religious people, for they swear by the emperor's *genius* and perform supplications for his *salus*: *Et nos religiosi sumus et simplex est religio nostra, et iuramus per genium domni nostri imperatoris et pro salute eius supplicamus, quod et vos quoque facere debetis* (Musurillo, 1972, no. 6, pp. 86–7).

[16] Turcan, Culte impérial (1978) 1056 with n. 498, citing Fitz, Intercisa (1972) 110, no. 3; 187, no. 47.

[17] Cf. Tertullian, *Apolog.* 30, 1: *Nos enim pro salute imperatorum Deum invocamus aeternum, Deum verum, Deum vivum, quem et ipsi imperatores propitium sibi praeter ceteros malunt.*

[18] Turcan, Cultes (1992) 64–8; Rives (1995) 73; Beard–North–Price (1998) 348.

What is particularly noticeable in the African provinces is that the official gods of Rome are most frequently associated with the formula, first and foremost Jupiter Best and Greatest and the Capitoline Triad as a whole, but also gods that are closely linked with these by their role in imperial ideology, Victoria, Fortuna Augusta, more rarely Concordia.[23] A good example of the significance of the Capitoline Triad occurs at

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[19] Turcan, Culte impérial (1978) 1057; Rives (1995) 167; Liertz (1998) 159; Beard–North–Price (1998) 351, noting that in north-west Spain dedications on behalf of the emperor were made to Roman rather than local deities.

[20] Smadja (1985) 542–3, noting that the emperor is the beneficiary of invocations *pro salute imperatoris* to deities whose cult he guarantees by ensuring peace. Cf. Rives (1995) 51; Van Andriga (2000) 33–4.

[21] See Smadja's charts, *o.c.* 542, 544; further above, p. 352.

[22] Vol. II, 1, 501 with n. 165, cf. 486 with n. 70; Smadja, *o.c.* 545 with n. 6, citing Snyder (1940) 297–317.

[23] Smadja, *o.c.* 543 with n. 4, suggests that these divinities may be the *Di Caesarum* of *AE* (1977) 855. But see Fishwick, *Di Caesarum* (1989), arguing that the latter are rather gods who, like the *Di Augusti,* have been enlisted in the emperors' service as helpers and protectors; cf. Beard–North–Price (1998) 351.

Thugga, where the *capitolium* is dedicated on behalf of the welfare of M. Aurelius and L. Verus.[24] As the pediment shows what looks to be the apotheosis of Antoninus Pius, raised to heaven by an eagle, the invocation of the Capitoline Triad for the *salus* of the emperors openly hints at their future deification. In the same way at Sustri the link between the Capitoline Triad and the emperor is emphasized by the circumstance that an unknown benefactor has marked his renovation of the capitol by a dedication for the *salus* of Gordian on the emperor's birthday.[25]

While dedications *pro salute* can be made to each member of the Capitoline Triad individually, it is clear that Juno and Minerva were rarely called on alone. In contrast Jupiter is frequently and continually invoked by military and official functionaries on behalf of the emperor's *salus*. From the time of the Severi Jupiter is in Africa *conservator* par excellence of the emperor/s and the imperial family, followed distantly by Mars; hence dedications to Jupiter *conservator* often combined with the formula *devotus numini eius / eiorum*.[26] Similarly, while Fortuna and above all Victoria are the almost exclusive monopoly of the emperor, a relationship between the emperor and other divinities evolves. A typical example is the close link from the reign of Commodus between the ruling dynasty and Hercules, an association in line with the evolving emphasis of imperial ideology on the concept of the superhuman emperor—more and more distant from simple mortals, ever more close to the gods: Hercules, often styled *invictus*, is invoked on behalf of the emperor's *salus* throughout the third century.[27] But dedications can also be made to other deities, on Smadja's lists (in descending order of numerical importance) Saturn, Mercury, Magna Mater, Caelestis, Pluto, Frugifer, Aesculapius, the Cereres, Mars, Neptune, Saturninus, Liber and Sol Invictus.[28] The names make it clear that a relationship developed between the emperor and the traditional cults of the African cities such that official religion came to include indigenous cults.[29] Many of the divinities whom one invoked *pro salute imperatoris* have an African character, with the result that, while imperial religion in Africa remained fundamentally a Roman religion, through syncretism this centred in practice on a Romanized Punic pantheon. The inhabitants of Abbir, for instance, made a dedication to Pluto Augustus, evidently an African god with a Graeco-Roman name, for the well-being of Commodus.[30] Here the invocation of a native god on behalf of the emperor is reinforced by the god's transformation into an Augustan deity with all that that implies; cf. *IDR* 3/2, 266, Pl. 151 (above, p. 291).

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[24] Smadja, *o.c.* 545. On the implication of the Capitoline cult at Dougga see Rives (1995) 119–23; Beard–North–Price (1998) 351.

[25] Smadja, *o.c.* 546 with n. 9, citing *CIL* 8, 25935.

[26] Smadja, *o.c.* 547–8.

[27] For the link between the Antonines and Hercules see the overview of Smadja, *o.c.* 548–9 with n. 30. On the comparison of the Severi with Hercules and other gods see Vol. I, 2, 337–9, 340–2.

[28] Smadja, *o.c.* 543; Rives (1995) 248–9.

The sincerity of formulations *pro salute imperatoris* can hardly be doubted. The dedication of monuments on behalf of the emperor's welfare clearly shows that the *Augustus* or *Augusti* have a special place in the piety of both the soldiers and civilians of the empire.[31] Proliferation of the formula reflects a realization on the part of the dedicator that he is a member of the empire[32] and that loyalty should be expressed to its head since the life of the individual and his successful conduct is dependant on the ruler of the *orbis romanus*. For provincials as for the citizens of Rome the presence of the emperor at the head of the state guaranteed the stability of the imperial structure. The destiny of the inhabitants of the empire was inextricably linked with that of the emperor, so by invoking the gods *pro salute imperatoris* the worshipper was in effect seeking his own well-being.[33] Accordingly one prayed that the gods would assure the *salus* of the emperor, who was *conservator orbis* as explicitly stated in the dedication of a statue of Septimius Severus erected at Aventicum. Similarly at Rome the devotees of the Lares and the emperor's *imago* venerated the ruler of the empire as *propagator orbis terrarum, locupletator civium*.[34] The idea is seen at its clearest in the acclamation of the Arvals marking the festival of May 20th, A.D. 213: … *te salvo salvi et securi sumus* … ; or in the bombastic tribute Pliny paid to Trajan:

> *Diem, domine, quo servasti imperium, dum suscipis, quanta mereris laetitia celebravimus, precati deos ut te generi humano, cuius tutela et securitas saluti tuae innisa est, incolumem florentemque praestarent*.[35]

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[29] Smadja, *o.c.* 549–53; Beard–North–Price (1998) 351.

[30] Rives (1995) 140–1, citing *AE* (1982) 932.

[31] Turcan, Culte impérial (1978) 1056.

[32] Rives (1995) 248.

[33] Liertz (1998) 161; Rives (1995) 51.

[34] Van Andringa (2000) 34, with nn. 24–5, citing *RIS* 108, *CIL* 6, 40500–1.

[35] Turcan, Culte impérial (1978) 1058, n. 500, citing *CIL* 6, 2086; Pliny, *Epp.* 10, 52 (60).

So too the formula on a bell at Tarraco, presumably used like other bells for apotropaic purposes (above, p. 155, n. 27) says that, if all is well with the Augusti and the Roman people, Tarraco is fortunate: … (*RIT* 369).[36] Again at Lugdunum, to take just one centre as an example, *taurobolia* were celebrated for the *salus* of the emperor and all his family *and* for the *status* of the colony (*CIL* 13, 1751–4).[37]

The function of the emperor as key intermediary between the human and the divine can also be expressed through the medium of visual images. The clearest example is provided by the temple complex of the goddess Caelestis at Thugga, which was built by public benefactors and dedicated *pro salute imperatoris*. On the interpretation of J. B. Rives the formula is then reflected in the semi-circular portico of the temple court, which is adorned with statues representing imperial cities and provinces.[38] Rives takes these to be a visual elaboration of the *pro salute* dedication: the goddess is asked to protect the emperor, who in turn was responsible for the peace and security of the empire. It is less easy to see similar ideas behind two reliefs originating from an altar(?) at Carthage, both based on Roman prototypes. One, now in the Louvre, was inspired by the Ara Pacis and depicts a female figure accompanied by symbols of the blessings of the Augustan age. Conceivably these might reflect the fulfillment of a *pro salute* dedication: the world prospers as a result of the emperor's well-being. The other, however, now housed in the Algiers museum, shows a young Julio-Claudian prince—quite possibly the adolescent Nero—beside Mars and Venus, a combination commonly thought to reproduce the statue group in the temple of Mars Ultor at Rome. If so, this surely represents Nero accompanied by the founding deities of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, with whom he is boldy portrayed on equal terms—a gigantic step in heroization.[39] A reference to the emperor's human *salus* would be entirely out of place in such a context.

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[36] Vol. II, 1, 504 with n. 187 and refs., Pl. XCIII; Van Andriga, *ibid*.; Panzram (2002) 81 with n. 316 and refs.

[37] The discussion of *CIL* 13, 1752 at Vol. II, 1, 393–4 requires modification. I am kindly informed by G. Di Vita Évrard that the epigraphical field on which *numinib. Aug.* is inscribed has been lowered by the erasure of earlier wording. This can only mean that the original text ran (as the editors supply) *pro salute Imp. Caes. M. Aureli Commodi Antonini Aug.* (vel sim) *totiusque domus divinae* … and that the formula *numinib. Aug.* was then inscribed on the erased part of the stone, apparently by the same lapicide (so *ead.*). In other words *numinib(us) Aug(ustorum)* was not part of the original text as earlier supposed. Two points follow. As whoever was responsible for supplying the formula to fill the gap must have thought it made sense at this part of the text, the argument that *Augustorum* includes the present, reigning emperor (p. 394) still holds: "the formula 'and of all the Divine House' surely implies a prior mention of some specific member or members of that house, a series that in all cases begins with the emperor himself". Equally of interest, the insertion of the formula at this point of the text evidently raised no qualms about the consequent attribution of *numen* to the rest of the *domus divina* in addition to the *Augusti*, How far this step is inadvertent or simply sloppy theology is a development that requires discussion in its own right.

[38] Rives (1995) 166–8.

The key question for present purposes is whether *pro salute* dedications belong under the general rubric of imperial cult.[40] J. B. Rives, for example, takes dedications *pro salute* to be in certain respects part of the general phenomenom of imperial cult, which varied in form on various occasions, but nevertheless recognizes that the implications of dedications on the emperor's behalf differ radically from those of dedications made directly to him.[41] He compares the way sacrifices *for* the emperor differed from sacrifices *to* the emperor in implying a relationship between dedicator and emperor that is clearly different from that between sacrificer and deity when sacrifice is made to a god.[42] It is worth adding that this is even more the case with scenes portraying the emperor himself offering cult to the gods. These go a significant step further than *pro salute* dedications in so far as the pious emperor himself craves the blessings of the gods upon the empire.[43] It is true that such scenes may contain an element of deification in that the emperor can be depicted sacrificing directly to the god, who is represented *praesens*—facing and on the same level as the emperor, whose representation can overshadow that of the god him- or herself.[44] Even so, to include such depictions under imperial cult would surely be to stand the usual definition of imperial cult on its head. The hallmark of the latter is that the emperor is treated like a god and is offered divine rites as the highest form of honours available. Both *pro salute* dedications for the emperor and sacrifices offered by the emperor certainly belong in the context of his relations with the gods but it is difficult to see how either of these can be included within the terms of imperial cult without expanding the definition of ruler worship far beyond its usual parameters. Perhaps imperial religion is the best umbrella term that would cover all the different phenomena: dedications to the gods on behalf of the emperor's *salus*, sacrifice to the gods performed by the emperor himself, rites to the emperor modelled on the cult of the gods. Rites *for, by* and *to* the emperor would then all be part of imperial religion,[45] the prevalent form of which was the direct cult of the emperor, modelled on the cult of the gods because the emperor functioned like a god in ordering human society.[46]

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[39] Fishwick, Ideology (2003) 82–93, noting that Nero is shown of equal height with Mars.

[40] So categorized by Beard–North–Price (1998) 348, 350.

[41] *Id.* (1995) 51, 121.

[42] Rives (1995) 121 with n. 34, citing Price (1984) 207–20. See further Vol. I, 1, 34–8, Vol. II, 1, 440–1, 513–14. On sacrifices to and for the emperor see further the discussion of Friesen (1993) 148–52, arguing that the two types were complementary aspects of a system that maintained a variety of relationships unconnected with the ontological status of the emperor.

[43] Beard–North–Price (1998) 350, noting that from the Augustan period onwards almost no-one other than the emperor is shown offering sacrifice to the gods.

[44] Vol. I, 2, 343.

To sum up, just as the godlike side of the emperor is emphasized by dedications to his *numen*,[47] so the human side of his existence is emphasized by records inscribed *pro salute*.[48] Dedications to a god on behalf of the emperor's well-being essentially associate a truly religious devotion with homage to the ruler, the designated and predestined vicar of the gods.[49] It follows that the *pro salute* formula, while certainly part of imperial religion, is a manifestation not of ruler cult but of loyalty to the emperor, a distinction clearly seen by the martyr Achatius, who drew the line between prayer for the emperor's *salus* and direct sacrifice to him *ut deo* (above, p. 354).

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[45] This seems to be roughly the position of Beard–North–Price (1998) 350, taking cult offered to or for the emperor as part of a wider set of associations, which would include the image of the emperor offering sacrifice. The authors nevertheless include dedications for the emperor's *salus* within imperial cult—for example, sacrifice to the Capitoline Triad for the emperor's well-being or a *taurobolium* to Magna Mater for the same intention: *o.c.*, 348.

[46] Vol. I, 1, 40–2; Friesen (1993) 152.

[47] Vol. II, 1, 383–96.

[48] Liertz (1998) 161–2. Other examples of the *pro salute* formula confirm the point. A provincial priest can sometimes be the recipient of a dedication for his own well-being as at Apulum in Dacia, where a steward pays a vow for the welfare of a provincial priest as well as for himself and all his near ones (Vol. III, 2, 256, 264). Alternatively the priest can pay a vow for his own welfare, that of his wife and all his family as near Poetovio in Upper Pannonia (Vol. III, 2, 268, 274), or for the *salus* of his daughter and for his own *incolumitas* as at Aquincum in Lower Pannonia (Vol. III, 2, 275, 283).

[49] Turcan, Culte impérial (1978) 1056.

## ii. *Cult, Anniversaries and Ritual*

### a. cult

We have seen that explicit evidence on the rites performed by provincial priests at provincial centres is tenuous to the point of vanishing. It is doubtless for this reason that discussion of the liturgy of provincial cult has been correspondingly minimal; the only systematic attempt to date is that attempted earlier in the present work.[50] Among the very few opinions to have been ventured elsewhere on the subject may be cited the assertion of J. Scheid that in the Latin west sacrifice was never offered to the living emperor, only to his Genius or Numen: "L'empereur vivant ne recevait jamais un culte, du moins en pays de culture latine. On sacrifiait à son Génie … ou à son *Numen* … . En pays latin un culte réel s'adressait, en revanche, aux *divi*, aux empereurs divinisés après leur mort part le sénât, éventuellement à leurs épouses défuntes…".[51] While this verdict apparently applies to cult at any level and makes no distinction between Rome on the one hand and Italy and the provinces on the other, the same author states categorically: "Le culte célébré dans les grands sanctuaires provinciaux s'adressait aux *divi* (en Occident) ou au prince régnant (en Oriént),[52] et it était géré par des flamines provinciaux ou des prêtres de Rome et d'Auguste élus par les délégués envoyés par les cités".[53] A similar opinion is implied by J. P. Martin, who remarks that the *flamines perpetui*, who existed in most centres of the empire, oversaw ceremonies "en l'honneur des divinisés", which seems to mean that municipal cult was paid only to deified rulers, not the living. The author makes no comment on provincial cult other than noting that in the west as in the east provincial assemblies continued to meet each year throughout the third century and that, following Diocletian's reform, each new province received its own assembly and provincial priest, who organized the ceremonies of the imperial cult.[54]

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[50] Vol. II, 1, 475–590; cf. Clauss (1999) 316–41.

[51] Jacques–Scheid (1990) 122–3.

[52] Price (1984) 207–27, concluded that direct sacrifice to the emperor was largely avoided at the provincial level and relatively uncommon in civic cult. For arguments to the contrary see Vol. II, 1, 513–14; Friesen (1993) 149. The point was made long ago that in the titles of provincial priests the collective term Sebastoi includes the living emperor with the deified dead. See Vol. I, 2, 270–1 with refs.

[53] Jacques–Scheid, *o.c.* 126.

[54] Martin (1998) 76–7.

The notion that cult was paid only to the Genius of the living emperor has long been a staple of scholarly debate, in fact for well over eighty years. The thesis was first elaborated by L. R. Taylor, who noted that there are epigraphical traces of priests, temples and altars of the living Augustus at a dozen Italian cities during his lifetime and that a similar picture holds true of later reigns.[55] As Dio states, however, that in Rome and Italy generally no emperor dared accept divine honours in his lifetime (51, 20, 8), Taylor attempted to rescue his testimony by arguing that imperial cult in the municipalities of Italy was in practice offered to the emperor's Genius, a form of cult supposedly copied from state-religious practice in Rome, where she took sacrifices to the Genius to date from the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor in 2 B.C.:[56] "… except perhaps in the case of the Greek city Neapolis, the cult that our inscriptions record was, I believe, directed not toward the emperor himself but toward his genius".[57] While her thesis primarily concerns municipal cult in Italy, Taylor went on to suggest that the altar at Lugdunum, established the year after the Genius Augusti was supposedly included among official state cults, "represented, for Roman citizens at least, the worship of the emperor's genius".[58] The main lines of this interpretation were promptly adopted by other scholars. D. M. Pippidi, for example, in his analysis of the imperial *numen*, stated "La démonstration tentée par M$^{\text{lle.}}$ Taylor n'a pas besoin d'être défendue et ce n'est pas mon intention de la reprendre ici".[59] Similarly P. Wuilleumier declared: "Les termes d'Auguste ou de César visaient l'empereur régnant … . Ils s'adressaient, non pas à sa personne divine … mais à son génie individuel … .".[60] More recently A. Chastagnol has emphasized that cult paid ostensibly to the living emperor was, strictly speaking, addressed to his Genius: "Le titre donné aux prêtre locale, *sacerdos Romae et Augusti*, insiste, comme à Lyon, sur les honneurs rendus conjointement à la Dea Roma et à l'empereur régnant, légalement au génie de l'empereur vivant, donc sur l'aspect de loyalisme politique …".[61]

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[55] Taylor (1920) 117–23.

[56] Taylor, *o.c.* 128ff, especially 132. But see Vol. I, 1, 91, n. 55; Gradel (1992) 44ff; Fishwick, Mamia (1995) 18; Vol. III, 2, 32, n. 58.

[57] *Ead., o.c.* 123–4.

[58] *O.c.* 132.

[59] Pippidi (1931) 88. The author goes on to identify *numen* with *genius*. *Contra* Vol. II, 1, 375–87.

[60] *Id.* (1953) 40 with n. 68, citing Taylor (1920) 116ff. *et al.*

Faced with the evident fact that nowhere in the Roman world is there any record of a temple or priest whose title alludes to the emperor's Genius,[62] Taylor developed her argument on the basis of wider considerations. Libations to the Genius Augusti will doubtless have entered the private cult of Roman households following the decree of the senate in 30 B.C. that a libation was to be poured to Octavian's Genius at all banquets private and public (CD 51, 19, 7). It is also true that the Genius Augusti was placed with the Lares Compitales at the crossroads of Rome from 7 B.C., so a cult of the Genius Augusti will have been practised privately and parochially (by *vici*) from the early years of Augustus' reign.[63] But state cult, that is the cult offered by priests and magistrates at Rome on behalf of the Roman people and supported by public funds, is another matter. As Weinstock pointed out, there is no trace of the cult of the Genius Augusti in the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* before the time of Nero,[64] when it is a co-recipent on the emperor's *natalis* (above, pp. 247–8). As for local civic cult, traces of the Genius amount to no more than a few isolated cases, for example at Forum Clodii in A.D. 18, where the observances look to be a purely local arrangement (*CIL* 11, 3308);[65] in general the cult is sparsely attested in the western provinces under the principate. A key exception might be the temple at Pompeii. On Taylor's view this will have been dedicated to the Genius Augusti as confirmed *inter alia* by the circumstance that the sacrifice of a bull, the victim appropriate to the Genius Augusti, is represented on the small altar in the temple forecourt: … "whatever the date of temple and altar,[66] the essential thing is that the victim shows that the altar belongs to the emperor's *genius*" … ; here on the emperor's birthday, the day of all others sacred to the Genius, took place the one sacrifice that the calendar of Cumae records, the offering of a bull to the genius of the reigning emperor".[67] But there is no mention of the Genius in the Feriale Cumanum (A.D. 4–14), which on the contrary prescribes direct offerings to Augustus himself on both his *dies natalis* and the day he was called Augustus (see below). Equally, the affiliation of the temple at Pompeii to the Genius Augusti is far from assured. The rite shown on the altar is of uncertain attribution and might represent the dedication of the temple itself or the commemoration of its *dies natalis*, just as well as some festival of the imperial cult such as the emperor's birthday.[68] So it is far from certain that the bull is offered to the emperor's Genius. It follows that nothing supports Taylor's thesis that cult will have been paid to the emperor's Genius exclusively .[69] Dio's judgement is consequently mistaken and Tacitus must be considered right in concluding: *nihil deorum honoribus relictum cum se templis et effigie numinum per flamines et sacerdotes coli vellet* (*Ann.* 1, 10).

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[61] Chastagnol (1980) 190.

[62] *Ead., o.c.* 128–9.

[63] *Ead., o.c.* 124; cf. Vol. I, 1, 84–5; Fishwick, Mamia (1995) 19–20.

[64] *Id.* (1971) 216; Vol. I, 1, 91, n. 55; II, 1, 506.

[65] Vol. II, 1, 510, 516.

[66] Taylor, *o.c.* 128–30, took the temple to be the *templum Augusti*, "the shrine of the living emperor whoever he might be" but left open the question of its date. For arguments that the temple is originally of Augustan construction but served the reigning emperor at the time of the eruption of Vesuvius—so was in practice a "Temple of Vespasian"—see Fishwick, Mamia (1995) 36–8.

The natural interpretation of the epigrahical evidence, one would have thought, is that cult was offered directly to Augustus himself rather than to his Genius. Unequivocal evidence in confirmation of this conclusion is in fact offered by the Feriale Cumanum (*InscrIt* 13, 2, 44; A.D. 4–14), according to which the birthday of Augustus (23rd August: here a one-day celebration) is marked by the sacrifice of an animal victim offered directly to the emperor himself:[70]

> [*VIIII k. Octobr(es) n*]*atalis Casaris. Immolatio Caesari hostia, supp*⟨*l*⟩*icatio* [*Vestae*] (line 3)

In the same way a supplication was made directly to the emperor himself on the day Octavian was named Augustus (16th January):

> [*X*]*VII k. Febr(uarias). Eo d*[*ie Caesar Augustu*]*s app*[*e*]*llatus est. Supplicatio Augusto* (line 10)

In both these cases the offering is unambiguously to Augustus *ut deo* and there is no mention of the Genius.

These seem to be the only explicit examples of direct sacrifice to the emperor but analogy with the ritual followed at two altars of the early principate is instructive. At Narbo (above, p. 248) the inscription of the Ara Numinis Augusti (*CIL* 12, 4333, A.D. 11; Vol. II, 1, Pl.

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[67] *O.c.* 129–30 with n. 53. Having inferred the suppression of any mention of the emperor's Genius in the titles of priests or the names of temples, Taylor cites the entry in the calendar of Cumae in support of her view. This surely amounts to *petitio principii.*

[68] Vol. I, 1, 91, n. 55; Fishwick, Mamia (1995) 36.

[69] Vol. I, 1, 133; Vol. II, 1, 516, 611.

[70] Vol. II, 1, 509–10, 513, 516.

LXXVa) prescribes that the corporation of three *equites Romani a plebe* and three *libertini* is to offer victims, each member one animal, on 23rd September (the first day of Augustus' two-day birthday celebration), 7th January (Augustus' first assumption of the *fasces*), and 31st of May (his reconciliation of the people and decurions of Narbo); a supplication of incense and wine, apparently before the immolation of the victim, is also prescribed on 7th January. In addition they are to provide incense and wine to the *coloni* and *incolae* for supplications on each anniversary, additionally including 1st January and 24th September.[71] The important point for present purposes is that, in keeping with the vow made in perpetuity by the inhabitants of Narbo, these were offered at the Ara Numinis Augusti and are addressed to the Numen Augusti (*ad supplicandum numini eius*: lines 18–19, 32–3). Again, at Forum Clodii (above, pp. 248–9) at the altar of the Numen Augustum (*CIL* 11, 3303 = *ILS* 154; A.D. 18),[72] two victims are to be offered on the two days of Augustus' birthday (Sept 23–4), while a calf shall be sacrificed on the *natalis* of Tiberius (16th November). On neither occasion is the recipient stated but both occurences are additionally marked by an invitation to the Genii of Augustus and Tiberius *thure ac vino* to dine at the altar: that is, on the birthday of each emperor the ritual additionally includes a supplication to their Genius. Since the Genii of Augustus and Tiberius have to be invited, it follows that animal sacrifice must be offered to the Numen Augustum at the altar of the Numen Augustum at Forum Clodii precisely as it was to the Numen Augusti at the altar of the Numen Augusti at Narbo. At either altar sacrifice is clearly made directly to the divinity to whom the altar is dedicated.

Precisely the same point applies in the provincial cult of the emperor. At Lugdunum, for instance, the altar was dedicated to Roma and Augustus and served by *sacerdotes Romae et Augusti*. Sacrifices must therefore have been addressed to these, not to the Genius of the emperor,[73] just as under the Severi, when the cult at the altar centred on the Caesares, cult must have been offered directly to the living emperor Septimius Severus and his sons.[74] Similarly in the Danube region the existence of an *ara Augusti / Augusti nostri* at the provincial centres of Sarmizegetusa, Savaria and Aquincum (above, pp. 173–7, 183) must imply that cult was offered directly to the living emperor in the provincial cults of Dacia and the two provinces of Pannonia.[75] This might seem a self-evident point to labour but it raises the important question of the recipient of provincial cult, a topic that has been explored in detail earlier.[76] Suffice it to recall here that, in contrast to the generalization of Scheid, the recipient of direct cult will have differed according to the content and evolution of each provincial worship. At Lugdunum, for example, the initial cult of Roma and Augustus was extended to include the deified dead apparently under Hadrian, only to revert to a firm emphasis on the living Caesars(s) under the Severi—not that this excluded either Roma or the deified Augusti, whom inscriptions link firmly with the temple. At Emerita and in all probability at Tarraco an initial cult of the *divi* alone was broadened under the Flavian dynasty to include the living emperor at both centres—at Tarraco along with Roma, as the inscriptions confirm. Equally at Corduba, from its beginning under Vespasian the cult embraced both living and deified, deceased Augusti. We know nothing of the content of the British provincial cult but in the Danubian provinces it seems clear that a cult of the *divi* never developed; instead worship centered on the reigning emperor and was consequently based on an altar located at the provincial centre. Throughout the western empire as a whole, therefore, it looks true to say that provincial cult was eventually addressed to the living emperor along with the deified Augusti and Augustae apart from the pre-Flavian years in Lusitania and Hither Spain, when it centred solely on the deified dead, and the Antonine and Severan eras in the Danube provinces, where provincial cult served only the living emperor. To the broad strokes of this general picture can be added the occasional inclusion of Roma, a variation limited to Tres Galliae and Hither Spain. At all events to generalize that worship was offered only to the *divi* in the provincial centres of the Latin west is self-evidently an oversimplification.

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[71] Vol. II, 1, 482, 502. For the connection of 1st January with the Lares Augusti see Vol. II, 1, 502 with n. 171.

[72] Vol. II, 1, 490–1, 510, 516.

[73] Vol. III, 1, 220–1.

[74] Vols. III, 1, 228, III, 2, 60.

### b. Anniversaries

Once the recipient of provincial cult is no longer in question, the intriguing question that arises is which anniversaries were regularly observed in the majority of western provincial cults. An approximate answer to this question can draw only on the regulations preserved by the altars at Narbo Martius and Forum Clodii along with local festival lists that have partly survived across the empire, backed by individual notices in various *fasti* and eked out by the testimony of sundry dated inscriptions. Undoubtedly the most valuable of these sources is the military calendar of A.D. 222–35 found at Dura-Europus on the Euphrates.[77] That a similar offical *feriale* was in the hands of the provincial *flamen* of Narbonese Gaul is clearly documented by entries in the Lex Narbonensis (*CIL* 12, 6038, lines 16, 20; above, pp. 223, 229),[78] while the existence of comparable schedules elsewhere is strongly supported by epigraphical echoes of similar regulations that were in use at other centres of the Latin west.[79] It is also clear that an itemized order of festivals was centrally issued under the Flavian regime for observance in the municipalities of Spain and doubtless elsewhere (above, pp. 231–2). Beyond a bare reference to sacrifice in the Narbonese charter (line 16), however, none of the latter sources gives any hint of the occasions commemorated or of the corresponding rites. The best one can do under the circumstances, then, is to isolate the different types of anniversaries that are identifiable in the surviving epigraphical record and infer ritual on the basis of what appears to have been customary practice in the west.

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[75] Vol. III, 2, 263–5, 273–4, 282–3.

[76] For a general overview see Vol. III, 1, 220–9.

The primary and most obvious category consists of occasions of the living emperor.[80] First and foremost ranks the current emperor's birthday—notably that of Augustus, which seems more often to have been a two-day festival—but also such anniversaries as the reigning monarch's accession, his *dies imperii*, his assumption of the *toga virilis* or the *fasces*, his first consulship, first victory and imperial acclamation, the day he became *pontifex maximus*, which might coincide with the local dedication of imperial statues, the day Octavian was named Augustus, the recognition of Septimius Severus by the senate, the emperor's principal triumphs such as the surrender of Lepidus or the capture of Alexandria, his *vicennalia*, and so on. In addition, the occasions of the empress, particularly the conferral of an honorary title, the *natales* of members of the emperor's family, and the adoption of his successor all figure largely. Taken as a whole, this category of events clearly reveals that it was based on the official list of festivals in Rome. Similarly the occasions of the *divi* and *divae*, beginning with the birthday of Divus Iulius, cling surprisingly tenaciously to their place within the list of festivals, at least so far as one can tell from the traces that have survived; the *natalis* of Faustina, wife of Antoninus Pius, for example, is still listed in the fifth century A.D.[81] What is recorded for the most part is the deification or birthday of a *divus* or *diva*, though occasionally the *dies imperii* or military exploits of a past ruler can be remembered. Lastly, local events may have been observed, in particular, say, the foundation date of the provincial cult, the *adventus* of an emperor, Augustus' intervention at Narbo, or the festival of a local god—not forgetting of course the festivals that are standard observances throughout the empire: the Kalends of January or the *vota* for the emperor's *salus* on 3rd January.[82] Whether other entries from the state calendar such as the dedications of altars and temples were likewise observed provincially is not in evidence though the *natalis* of Roma on 21st April will surely have been marked from the time of Hadrian. The point to stress in all this is that such *ferialia* were not frozen in time but evolved continually from reign to reign as festivals were adapted to suit changed circumstances.

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[77] Vol. II, 1, 482–3, 486–501.

[78] Vol. III, 2, 9, 11.

[79] Vol. III, 1, 119–26, 130, 135–44, 150–4, 158–63, 167–9.

[80] Vol. II, 1, 482–92, 497–9, 500–1, with detailed documentation.

### c. Ritual

As for the rites by which such anniversaries were observed,[83] broadly speaking one could expect that the emperor's birthday will have been marked by a preliminary supplication followed by the sacrifice of a victim—offered as a rule on each day of the anniversary of Augustus, wherever this was a two-day festival; as noted above, this was not the case at Narbo.[84] The recipient of the sacrifice will certainly have been the emperor, in all probability with Roma wherever she shared in the cult as notably at Lugdunum. Whether such festivals were also an occasion for participation in feasting off the slaughtered animal as prescribed for the decurions and the *populus* at Forum Clodii by special donation is not in evidence (above, pp. 248–9, 286–7), but the festival will certainly have been marked by games, inaugurated by a solemn procession from the provincial altar to the amphitheatre or circus (above, pp. 268–73). Lesser imperial occasions, such as the emperor's *dies imperii*, reception of the *tribunicia potestas*, assumption of the *fasces* or *toga virilis* and so on, were most likely celebrated by the cheaper rite of the *supplicatio*—we have seen that both a supplication and the immolation of a victim were prescribed on 7th January at Narbo—and the highlight of such days could well have been a theatrical production, not that there is direct evidence on *ludi scaenici*. In the same way the *divi* and *divae*, wherever they were included in the cult, must have been paid cult on an appropriate anniversary, particularly their *natalis*, but not impossibly on other imperial days. These were clearly less important festivals, but in the Feriale Duranum the offering to every *divus* was an animal victim, whereas the *divae* received only supplications.[85] How far this was true of provincial cult is impossible to say; expense being an item, the immolation of an animal victim must have been a comparatively rare event except perhaps on the *natalis* of Divus Augustus in the period immediately following his decease.[86] Whether deified personnages were paid cult en bloc on some occasion is equally unknown, though they may have been co-recipients on principal occasions of the reigning emperor just as in the rites of the Arval Brethren at Rome.[87] Beyond these imperial days the usage at Cumae suggests the possibility that important victories will have been marked by supplication to an appropriate deity or imperial abstraction,[88] possibly in combination with an offering for the emperor's *salus*.[89] This was certainly the case on 3rd January, when *vota* for the well-being and safe-keeping of the emperor were made and paid throughout the empire. Lastly, local events such as those mentioned above must have been marked by rites in one form or another. The most significant of these in terms of the present enquiry was the annual reunion of the provincial council, an event certainly distinguished by games, on which the provincial priest for the year was expected to expected to spend lavishly. Whether some of the old festivals of Rome and such events as the emperor's recovery from sickness or the suppression of a conspiracy may also have been celebrated from time to time is unknown. On the other hand we have evidence for unique events that took place on occasion, such as dedications by the provincial priest sometimes in collaboration with the provincial governor or the sensational rite of a *taurobolium* performed by a metroac cleric under the supervision of the provincial *flamen*.

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[81] Vol. II, 1, 489.

[82] Vol. II, 1, 482, 497 with n. 139.

[83] Vol. II, 1, 501–5, 509–10, 515–18.

[84] On the celebration of Augustus' birthday in Athens see recently Kajava (2001) 86–7.

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[85] Vol. II, 1, 507–8.

[86] It is worth recalling that at Mainz the delegates of the *concilium* of Tres Galliae celebrated the *inferiae* of Drusus and Germanicus with *supplicationes*: above, p. 254.

[87] Vol. II, 1, 517.

[88] *InscrIt* 13, 2 *ad* April 15, Sept. 4.

[89] For prayers to the gods on behalf of the emperor's *salus* on the occasion of Trajan's *dies imperii* see Vol. II, 1, 517, n. 262.

The uncertainty that necessarily surrounds this hypothetical reconstruction can only be clarified by the discovery of new epigraphical documentation that might reveal the identity, sequence and ritual of the festivals celebrated at the offical centre of each province. It is greatly to be hoped that evidence to prove—or disprove—the main features of the tentative programme outlined above will one day put in a much needed appearance.

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